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THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION.

I AM asked to write something on "The Future of the Democratic Organization." The task is difficult, because dealing in *futures*, whether in business or in politics, is always largely a matter of venture and uncertainty. Burke once wrote "You can never plan the future by the past," but on the other hand Patrick Henry in his famous speech before the Virginia Convention in 1775 said "I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past." Accepting Henry's counsel as the better guide, and also recalling Byron's assertion that "The best of prophets of the future is the past," we may somewhat foretell the possibilities of a great political party by a fair and just consideration of its previous history.

The Democratic party is of ancient and honorable origin. Founded by Jefferson nearly a century ago, it is the oldest political organization in existence in the United States to-day, having survived all other parties including the Federal, Whig, American, and Greenback parties, its only contemporaries now being the Republican party of scarcely forty years' growth, and the Populist party of very recent inception.

The Democratic creed was enunciated in Jefferson's first inaugural address, wherein he laid down certain fundamental principles of government—sixteen in all—the maintenance of which he deemed essential for the well-being of the country. That address is worthy of careful study by every student of American political history, and it may safely be asserted that the administrative policies therein proclaimed are as necessary to-day to our national prosperity and happiness

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as when they were first promulgated. A steady and consistent adherence to them kept the Democratic party in power, under the leadership of wise and conservative statesmen, almost continuously from 1801 to 1860, when unfortunately the counsels of extremists prevailed and the party foolishly cut loose from its former safe moorings, setting aside or ignoring—temporarily at least—the sixteen great national principles under which it had so uniformly triumphed, and accepting in their stead a single issue, largely sectional in its character, thereby dividing and defeating the party, precipitating a civil war, and depriving the Democracy of national power for twenty-four years thereafter.

The unwisdom of risking a campaign on a single issue at the instance of those who sought to perpetuate slavery—a system condemned by the popular judgment of the country and by the moral sentiment of the world—seems now so clear that the folly and shortsightedness which urged and insisted upon it can scarcely be realized. Mr. Lincoln was a minority President, and a united Democracy could have prevented his election; but arrogant leaders, not appreciating the dangers which a division involved, bent upon factional control rather than party unity, seeking selfish and sectional advantages rather than subserving patriotic interests, rejecting the prudent counsels of true and tried friends, madly rushed into a contest in which defeat was inevitable. But until the madness of 1860 the party had administered the government, during its long control, with much success and popular satisfaction. The achievements of Democratic statesmen had been continually adding lustre to our history: their efforts had been successful in enlarging our national domain—making all the additions thereto which have been really valuable: their successful and patriotic policies had been in the line of sacredly preserving the public credit, of sustaining the national honor, and guarding our national safety by the promulgation and maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine—first declared by a Democratic President; conducting successfully two foreign wars during which the personal liberties of our citizens were not infringed nor our finances disturbed by the issue of legal-tender paper money, while the glory of the country was visibly enhanced; favoring hard money—money of full intrinsic value—the money of the Constitution; respecting and guarding the reserved powers of the States; defending popular rights as no other party ever did or has since done, and always endeavoring to restrict the use of the vast taxing powers of the government to public purposes exclusively.

So long as this remains a free country not governed by royal fami-

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lies, but by the people themselves through the instrumentalities of political parties, there will always be at least two leading political organizations, and one of them must necessarily be a party devoted to such salutary principles and benign policies as I have mentioned, which are deemed essential to our national welfare. That party may not always be dominant in public affairs, but it surely will not become extinct. Reverses are as natural in politics as are periods of depression in business, while occasional hard times are incident to the best as well as the poorest governed countries.

The fact should not be overlooked that with the exception of the reverses which were traceable to the follies of 1860, from which the Democratic party did not recover until 1876, it has never lost a Presidential election twice in succession. Reasoning from this circumstance, as well as because of the inherent fickleness which seems to characterize popular action in political matters, we may fairly conclude that the next President of the United States to be elected in 1900 will be a Democrat. This conclusion is reached upon the assumption—which may reasonably be entertained—that a policy of pacification, rather than of antagonism, shall be adopted by party managers toward all factions, that a spirit of charity shall prevail among those honestly holding diverse views upon some few issues while agreeing in the main on many others, and above all that there shall be a steadfast adherence to well-settled Democratic usages and principles—untinctured with populism—and that recent mistakes in that regard shall be avoided.

It has been demonstrated many times that there is a large class of conservative people in this country, not avowed "independents" so called, but people who while nominally belonging to some political party are disposed to regard political ties very lightly, voting first with one party and then with the other, or sometimes not voting at all, and who really constitute the balance of power, and virtually control by their action or non-action the political destinies of the nation. They are electors of intelligence, usually men of property, strictly conscientious, opponents of radicalism in every form, patriotic in their purposes, and sincerely desirous of good government under whatsoever party it may best be secured. They think for themselves and act for themselves quite regardless of political influences. Whichever political party disgusts, offends, or frightens this class of electors, greatly imperils its chances of success. The political barometer is largely affected by the conclusions which they may reach. It is the general conviction that the course pursued by the Chicago Convention not

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only offended thousands of veteran Democrats who had grown gray in the service of the party, but was especially obnoxious to this class of thoughtful and intelligent citizens. Fair-minded Democrats who had learned to respect the time-honored usages of the party were astonished at the revolutionary proceedings of that body in arbitrarily and unnecessarily rejecting, contrary to every Democratic precedent, the selection of the National Committee for Temporary Chairman; and were grieved as well as indignant when, for the selfish purpose of securing a two-thirds vote, the majority, egged on by impetuous and misguided counsels, invaded the domain and prerogatives of the sovereign State of Michigan, and, flagrantly trampling upon State rights, assumed to decide that which its own State Convention had exclusive jurisdiction to determine.

Bad as was this beginning, the subsequent procedure was still worse. While Democratic usages were ignored at the outset, there soon followed the repudiation of old and well established Democratic principles, and the substitution of new and dangerous populistic doctrines in their stead. There naturally could be but one result to such a suicidal course, which every man of intelligence could easily foresee.

The wisdom of making the silver question practically the sole or paramount issue in the recent campaign was seriously doubted by many influential Democrats who were solicitous for the party's future welfare. "It is the part of a wise man . . . . not to venture all his eggs in one basket." To exchange Jefferson's sixteen Democratic principles for one populistic principle was not regarded as the part of prudence. To risk everything upon a single issue—and that one of questionable propriety—seemed to be unnecessarily imperilling the fortunes of a great political party.

But even if it was desirable that the free coinage of silver should be the sole or principal issue,—an issue about which honest men may well differ,—the platform declaring for such coinage should have been carefully drawn, its provisions therefor should have been surrounded with every appropriate safeguard, and it should have avoided troublesome details which needlessly invited criticism. The issue should have been presented in such form as to satisfy or at least pacify conservative men and not frighten them. When the real question involved was whether silver should be coined at all (other than for subsidiary purposes), it was the height of folly to declare for such coinage at a precise ratio. A general declaration in favor of the remonetization of silver, accompanied by a strong pledge for the maintenance of its parity

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with gold by the exercise of all the powers of the government to that end, and as a precautionary feature limiting the application of such silver coinage to debts thereafter contracted, would have better answered the charge of repudiation and dishonesty, and disarmed much opposition to the proposed change in our monetary system.

The prevalent suspicion that a safe system of bimetallism was not intended, but that silver monometallism was really desired,—especially in view of the fact that a precise ratio was fixed so disproportionate to the commercial ratio existing between the two metals, and aggravated by the absence of a promise of any effort to secure and maintain a parity,—should have impelled the Convention to explicitly declare, not for any specified ratio, but for whatever ratio would surely and safely maintain such parity. That was clearly the path of prudence, duty, and patriotism,—but unfortunately it was not pursued. There are those who think it would have been still better not to have declared at all in favor of the experiment of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, alone and without the coöperation of other great countries, but that a safer, and more judicious course, under existing conditions, would have been the approval in general terms of international bimetallism, and there stopped. It is true that such a moderate plank would not have satisfied the Populists—with whom a coalition was even then contemplated,—but on the other hand it might have preserved Democratic unity for the future and prevented the Indianapolis bolt.

But if a mistake was made in the form in which the silver question was presented to the country, it was supplemented and augmented by some of the other provisions of the platform which were equally if not still more objectionable. A radical change in the nation's monetary standard, such as was proposed, was itself sufficient to alarm the country without adding any other offensive provisions, or provisions of doubtful expediency, or especially those of a revolutionary and unprecedented character.

Had reasonable judgment been exercised there ought to have been no difficulty in making the residue of the platform, aside from the silver plank, entirely acceptable to every Democrat and to all conservative citizens; but instead thereof passion, prejudice, selfishness, sectionalism, and emotionalism seemed to rule the hour, while so many undemocratic, crude, and unsafe provisions were recklessly incorporated therein that the people became frightened and hundreds of thousands of electors who otherwise would have supported the ticket were needlessly alienated.

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These unwise provisions, which, more than the silver question, tended to ensure defeat, deserve some consideration:

First. *The Income Tax.* This tax had never before been approved in a Democratic platform and had never been tolerated by the country, except as a temporary expedient in time of war. Yet this platform proposed to fasten it upon the nation in a time of profound peace as a part of its permanent fiscal policy. It is an unjust, inquisitorial, and sectional tax. It is a tax upon thrift, industry, and brains, and not upon wealth *per se.* It is a *direct* tax, and when not levied upon the States according to their population, as required by the Constitution, cannot be levied at all. It was regarded in many quarters as an indefensible measure of confiscation, pressed by the improvident or impecunious States, as against the thrifty, progressive, and wealthy ones. It was urged by every political adventurer, ignoramus, and demagogue in the country. The demand therefor was part and parcel of the same unseemly clamor concerning the alleged interests of "the masses against the classes" of which so much was heard in the recent campaign. The sectional character of the tax, and the motives for its adoption evidenced by the concerted and selfish struggle for its revival, are apparent when it is stated that the records in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States show that while the whole amount of the tax as returned to that Department under the recent law from all the States was $15,943,746.69 there was returned from the States which voted for the Democratic-Populistic candidates in the late election only the sum of $1,880,201.38. New York's share of the burden was twice as much as all these Democratic-Populistic States,—being one quarter of the whole tax, the exact amount being $3,784,489.04. Yet there are those who affect to be surprised that the people of New York did not hasten to support this platform with zeal and enthusiasm, instead of rejecting it by more than a quarter of a million majority.

Second. *The attack on the Supreme Court.* The platform criticizes the decision of that Court declaring the Income Tax law unconstitutional. If that were all it does, the plank might be overlooked or excused as simply a matter of bad taste, foolish and unnecessary, but unimportant. But it goes further and instead of acquiescing in the decision, it declares it to be "the duty of Congress to use all the Constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the Court as it may hereafter be constituted," to effect the imposition of an income tax. What does this extraordinary

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provision mean? What power has Congress under the Constitution over the Supreme Court, which it is thus declared to be its "duty" to exercise? Its power may be regarded as almost absolute—especially if it desires to arbitrarily or recklessly use or abuse it. While it cannot abolish the Court itself, it can *reorganize* it by act of Congress and thereby change its *personnel*—perhaps its whole complexion. Congress can increase or possibly diminish the number of Judges: it can make "regulations" concerning the Court's appellate jurisdiction largely restricting and hampering its usefulness and virtually destroying its efficacy. A reckless Congress and a corrupt, ambitious, or unscrupulous President can "pack" the Court and force an acceptable decision. In truth the scheme thus approved contemplated the reorganization of the Supreme Court, by some of the methods permitted, to the end that a Court should be obtained which would surely sustain the coveted income tax. Indeed this programme was unblushingly avowed and defended by some of those most zealous in urging the adoption of this plank. A more dangerous or revolutionary procedure was never before outlined by a political party, and it is no wonder that it startled the Judiciary and bar of the country, and aroused intense opposition almost everywhere. It is a fact not generally known and perhaps for the first time here stated that the platform upon this subject as originally prepared and presented to the sub-committee on Resolutions at Chicago by the majority thereof, simply proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for or permitting an income tax. Such a provision, while of course objectionable in itself, and also because it foolishly assumed an untimely and unwise issue, was nevertheless an orderly and legitimate method of securing the relief sought: but upon discussion it was rejected by the majority as too moderate or as otherwise undesirable, and the hazardous provision before mentioned was substituted in its stead, and the Democratic party thereby committed to a policy of virtual destruction, usurpation, and revolution.

Third. *Legal-tender paper money.* The plank which refers to paper money is somewhat ambiguous and was apparently so intended. The clause "we demand that all paper money which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the Government of the United States," assumes that such money is hereafter to be issued and may properly be issued. There is an implied recognition of the propriety of issuing more legal-tender paper money. That claim or admission may be satisfactory to Populists who believe in *fiat* money, but can hardly be

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acceptable to Democrats who have heretofore always favored hard money,—coined money,—money of intrinsic value. The true Democratic theory is that Congress has no Constitutional power to issue any more legal-tender paper money, and should not issue any whatever: but this plank proceeds upon a different theory—a directly opposite theory. It ignores the fact—or it was seemingly framed in ignorance of the fact—that national-bank notes are not legal tender and never have been, and that they are not *money* in the proper sense of that term, and no person is obliged to accept them as such. It antagonized national banks under a false idea of their true functions, and created a deceptive and shallow issue, inviting additional opposition. A demand for the substantial abolition or vital impairment of national banks, coupled with the nomination for Vice-President of a national-bank official, was an exhibition of stupidity and inconsistency which added grotesqueness to the campaign.

Fourth. *Repudiation and an assault upon our National Credit.* The declaration that "We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace" was vicious as well as unfortunate. It was an attack upon the national credit. It was wholly an unnecessary financial issue, entirely foreign to the silver question proper, which should not have been encumbered with it. It antagonized *all* bonds of the United States, as of course none but interest-bearing bonds were ever contemplated. It opposed their issuance for any purpose whatever, and whether issued by the President or by Congress. Even the Populist platform was not so radical, as it excepted "bonds issued by specific act of Congress." Of course this plank was utterly indefensible, and it recklessly placed the Democratic party in a false and humiliating position demanding explanation and apology. It was adopted with full knowledge of the embarrassing financial situation of the government. What was that status? The party had enacted a tariff bill (largely through the influence of the ultra friends of silver who would not listen to conservative counsels) which failed to furnish adequate revenues for the support of the nation, and the government found itself without sufficient coin with which to redeem its greenback currency upon presentation; and the two houses of Congress being unable to agree upon a new tariff measure providing for additional revenue, the government was compelled to issue bonds to procure the necessary coin for redemption purposes, and by means of such redemption process was enabled to secure sufficient moneys for the payment of its ordinary running expenses. Under such circumstances

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there was no other alternative except the issuing of bonds, as every intelligent man knows; and if such dead-lock shall continue there will still be no other alternative in the future.

To oppose the issuing of bonds under such circumstances—which was the only feasible method of protecting the credit of the nation, of preventing repudiation, and of honorably meeting its outstanding obligations and paying its routine expenditures—was regarded by the public as not only criminal folly, but little less than treason itself. The people were readily made to believe that such opposition was only another means or plan of undermining and destroying the government, and of accomplishing by ballots what bullets had failed to do. What loyal Democrat—a follower of Douglas, McClellan, Hancock, and Tilden—could conscientiously defend and vindicate such an infamous and unfortunate plank?

Fifth. *Federal authority in States.* It was at least unwise to raise an issue as to the extent to which the Federal government may interfere in local affairs in States even for the avowed purpose of the enforcement of Federal laws. The Chicago riots or labor troubles, largely local in their character, should not have been either directly or indirectly dragged into a national contest, either for the commendation or condemnation of the Federal administration or the State administration of Illinois. That conflict at the time was perhaps much misunderstood and confused in the public mind, and it was the height of political madness to expect to elucidate it in a brief national campaign, where much pre-existing prejudice, bitterness, and misrepresentation had to be explained away and overcome. No political party can afford to be placed in a false position upon the questions of the enforcement of law and order, the suppression of violence, and the due maintenance of the proper authority of the general government against domestic resistance—which appeal so strongly to the American heart and conscience—but this vague, unfortunate, and ill-advised plank—under the peculiar circumstances existing—gave the opposition an advantage which they readily utilized, and thereby added to the burdens of an already overburdened and severely handicapped party. No pretext or excuse should have been afforded the Republicans for making against the Democracy the cruel charge of countenancing anarchism and lawlessness.

Sixth. *Life tenure in the Public Service.* This plank as reported from the sub-committee on Resolutions, as presented and read in the Convention, as discussed by those who debated the platform, as adopted by the Convention itself, and as published in all the newspapers at the

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time, was as follows—"We are opposed to life tenure in the public service." There is no evidence that it was ever duly or lawfully changed. Shortly before the election however it appeared in the "Democratic Campaign Book," prepared by Hon. Benton McMillan of Tennessee and promulgated under the authority of the National Committee, with the words "except as provided in the Constitution" added thereto. When, where, how, and why these words were interpolated does not appear.

This much is clear—the plank in its original form had never been recognized as Democratic doctrine. No previous platform in the whole history of the party had ever sanctioned such a position. Life tenure for our Federal Judges had been established in the Constitution by our patriotic forefathers, and there never was any demand for a change—at least none on the part of Democrats. It was an undesirable and troublesome issue to champion, with no intelligent public sentiment in its support. Neither do the disputed or additional words, which seem to have been added without the authority of the Convention, make the plank acceptable, but rather make it ridiculous. When it is remembered that there are no civil officials in the public service absolutely possessing a life tenure excepting Judicial officers provided for in the Constitution, the declaration of opposition to all life tenures "except as provided in the Constitution" becomes palpably absurd, as well as displays a lamentable lack of information.

If—as has been intimated—this provision was intended as an attack on the existing civil service laws, its crudity and semi-falsity are apparent when it is understood that every official under such laws may be removed at the pleasure of the appointing power, while appointments only are restricted to those upon the certified eligible lists. If it was deemed desirable or advisable to antagonize the whole civil service system—a proposition of questionable propriety—some more appropriate words should have been chosen to express such purpose. A wise political party will avoid entangling phrases and complicated situations which tend to forfeit public confidence and respect.

There are other features of this platform which are more or less offensive and objectionable, but space forbids any special reference to them. It is sufficient to conclude this line of thought by saying that it has been fairly demonstrated that, even aside from the silver issue, victory was well-nigh impossible on the lines marked out by the Chicago platform. The evidences are numerous that hundreds of thou-

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sands of Democrats to whom that platform was distasteful, nevertheless supported the ticket upon grounds of regularity, expediency, or other tenable grounds satisfactory to themselves and their consciences, but who do not desire the experiment repeated or their loyalty again so severely and unnecessarily tested. They were willing to pardon or excuse the errors of their party in one campaign, but they will not tolerate them in another.

The mistakes of the recent contest must not be repeated; the objectionable features of the platform must be abandoned, or there must be a material modification of its essential provisions; conservatism must replace radicalism; the selfish interests of sectionalism must give way to the best interests of the whole country; conciliation must prevail instead of ostracism; a broad and liberal policy in party management must be adopted; there must be greater freedom of opinions tolerated and sincere efforts made to harmonize and adjust honest differences; unholy alliances with Populists must be avoided; and above all, there must be a return to the fundamental principles of the party from which temporarily it has so materially departed;—these are the essential requirements by which success becomes possible in the future.

The fact should not be misunderstood that the Indianapolis movement was far more formidable and important than the aggregate vote for Palmer and Buckner would indicate. Some portion of the immense popular majority for McKinley is properly accounted for by the large support which he received from the gold element who refused to "fire in the air," but, embracing the tactics of practical politics, placed their votes "where they would do the most good," as they alleged. But it is evident that a still larger support was received from Democrats who sympathized with the Indianapolis movement until its Convention unexpectedly favored the policy of gold monometallism—antagonizing the policy of bimetallism, even though secured through international agreement—and then who actively or passively supported the Republican ticket, being unable to approve the Populistic doctrines incorporated in the Chicago platform. Neither should the political observer fail to note that when the votes of the Populists and the votes of the silver Republicans (who will still be Populists and Republicans hereafter) are deducted from the total vote of the Democratic-Populist combine, it will appear how greatly the strict Democratic strength has shrunk since 1892. Temporary alliances on a single issue, with elements which are hostile on all other questions, usually add little or no permanent strength to a great political party, and they are some-

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times positively demoralizing. Temporary expedients are as dangerous in politics as in business.

It was to be regretted that the most questionable and mischievous provisions of the Chicago platform seemed to meet with much favor at the hands of a motley crowd of Populists, silver Republicans, single-tax men, old greenbackers, professional labor agitators, socialists, and Adullamites generally, whose noisy and unintelligent championship of the Democratic cause, and especially their extreme utterances of every character, alarmed many influential and thoughtful men and hastened their repudiation of the ticket. It looked at one time as though this combination of mischief-makers and malcontents proposed to take possession of the Democratic party, dictate its policies, and control its actions; and in some of the States this disaster was prevented only by the vigorous and patriotic efforts of level-headed Democratic leaders who remained true to the old faith and did not propose to surrender the old Democratic ship or permit it to be scuttled by irresponsible and fanatical "one idea" pirates.

If success is to crown the future efforts of the party, certain agrarian and socialistic tendencies developed in the recent campaign, for which the Democracy were ostensibly responsible, must be promptly checked. The party must disavow the numerous paternalistic doctrines which were promulgated under its auspices, or successive defeats will surely follow. It is neither good politics nor is it honest to teach the people to expect the government to provide a living for them; nor to lead them to believe that all the ills to which the body-politic is naturally subject can be cured by legislation; nor to attack vested rights, to indiscriminately assail the possessors of property, to denounce wealth and exalt poverty, to inspire disrespect for courts, to rail at those in authority, to openly or covertly resist established laws, to oppose or regard as "wrongs" and "oppressions" the necessary regulations ordained for the control of public affairs; nor to encourage a warfare upon chartered capital and fixed incomes, nor to array classes against classes, and endeavor to sow the seeds of discontent everywhere. Honest agitation for the correction of governmental abuses is legitimate and deserves encouragement, but agitation for the mere sake of agitation may become mischievous and dangerous.

The Democratic party—to its great credit—has ever been the consistent and courageous defender of popular rights, the champion of labor, the protector of the weak, the friend of the poor, and the enemy of plutocracy; but its course has always been reasonable, fair, and judi-

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cious. It cannot now consent to become the asylum for all the demagogues and charlatans in the country, who, while ostentatiously proclaiming their desire to subserve the public good, are really furthering schemes of ambition or private gain or endeavoring to undermine the government and to pull down the pillars of society.

The Democratic party to succeed must deserve success. It cannot be permitted to degenerate into a mere "silver" party; it has other missions than to promote the interests of silver mine-owners exclu-clusively; its policies must be national in their character, and patriotic and disinterested enough to include the promotion of the prosperity and welfare of the whole country; and its lines must be broad enough to embrace within its membership those of every nationality, creed, color, occupation, and profession. If political clubs are desirable as auxiliaries to the regular organization, they should be *Democratic* clubs, and not "silver" clubs, "gold" clubs, "tariff-reform" clubs, "workingmen's" clubs, "bankers'" clubs, "German" clubs, or "Irish" clubs. Such divisions, discriminations, and distinctions should have no place in American politics.

The mission of the Democratic party has not yet been fulfilled. Its existence is as necessary to-day as at any period of its long and eventful history. No single issue gave it birth, and the death of any one issue cannot destroy it. It rendered valuable services to the Republic even during our civil war in upholding the Constitutional rights of citizens—which domestic strife could not extinguish;—in protecting personal liberty, in preventing needless arbitrary arrests, in maintaining freedom of speech, in guarding the liberty of the press, in defending the writ of *habeas corpus*, and in resisting usurpations of every description incident to a period of fierce and bloody conflict. An honest and patriotic opposition party was necessary to check and prevent excesses on the part of the party in power, and its usefulness was also manifested in confining the war to its legitimate and proper object —to wit, the restoration of the Union. It made no protest, although during the contest when the issue was doubtful and while hundreds of thousands of loyal Democrats were to the front gallantly fighting the battles of their country, President Lincoln removed all the Democratic officials throughout the North and put Republicans in their places. Democratic patriotism was also severely tested when after the war a Democratic President, honestly and fairly elected, was deliberately counted out, and the party submitted to the outrage rather than plunge the country into another civil strife.

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The valuable services rendered by the Democratic party to the country during all of the reconstruction period and subsequently thereto, cannot be overestimated, and were especially exhibited in opposing a military despotism which was at times sought to be substituted for civil authority; in resisting irresponsible carpet-bag governments in the Southern States; in defeating the partisan impeachment of President Johnson, and thereby saving the country from a dangerous and pernicious precedent; in antagonizing the maintenance of an immense standing army in time of peace; in preventing the enactment of iniquitous Force bills; in exposing and repudiating the fallacious greenback heresy; in reducing public expenditures to the lowest limits consistent with the actual needs of the government; in checking the accumulation of a vast surplus in the Treasury unnecessarily collected from the taxpayers of the country; and in always insisting that public taxation shall be limited to public purposes.

If I were asked to briefly define in general terms a vital difference between the Democratic and Republican parties, I should answer that the former believes in a strict construction of the Federal Constitution, while the latter advocates a loose construction. These two different theories or methods of construction had their inception in Washington's cabinet, and were represented respectively by Jefferson on one side and Hamilton on the other, and such conflicting theories have been contending against each other for mastery from that day to this.

While the Democratic party has made mistakes—and what party has not?—it has as a general rule entertained better notions of government and advocated more correct principles than has any of its adversaries. It has occasionally fallen into evil hands, but has quickly recovered itself. It has accomplished much good for the country, and is capable of accomplishing more.

Its administrations of the national as well as the State governments have been characterized by greater economy than those of its opponents. This is but natural, because the membership of the Republican party is more largely composed of the wealthy classes than is the Democratic party, the latter being predominantly the poor man's party, and the former being more accustomed than the latter to liberality in personal affairs, more easily incurs prodigal or extravagant public expenditures. But whatever may be the true reason, the fact exists that superior economy is practiced by the Democracy and the figures corroborate that view. The ordinary expenditures of the government during each year of Mr. Harrison's Administration exceeded those of

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any year of Mr. Cleveland's first Administration by many millions of dollars, while during Mr. Cleveland's second or present Administration such expenditures have been reduced each and every year as follows:

Fiscal year ending June 30th.	Reductions from previous year.
1893–4	$15,952,674.66
1894–5	$11,329,981.54
1895–6	$ 4,015,852.21

In the State of New York under Democratic rule from 1883 to 1894 (both inclusive) the State taxes were greatly minimized, reaching at one period the lowest amount in thirty-four years, while upon the advent of the Republican party to power in 1895 the taxes were immediately increased $4,457,154.04 in one year, and during the second or last year they still largely exceeded any year of Democratic rule.

What has been true of the State is also true of municipalities. Republican control in New York city, in Brooklyn, and in Albany county brought increased taxation to each locality. The tax rate in other places tells the same story.

It is peculiarly the province of the Democratic party to earnestly oppose the false theories of protection—"protection for protection's sake alone"—which has become the corner-stone of the Republican faith. Upon this issue the Democratic party is substantially united. With one accord it opposes a policy which seeks to use the power of taxation for the accomplishment of private purposes—for the building up of individual fortunes—and for the distribution of legislative advantages to favored interests. It doubts the Constitutional as well as the moral authority of Congress to take money out of one man's pocket, in the form of tariff taxes, to aid another man's business. It demands equal taxation, honest taxation, and public taxation. It insists that tariff taxation shall be for revenue, and not for any private purpose. It interposes no objection to the incidental advantages or benefits which any particular person may derive from the imposition of tariff duties,—levied for the principal, direct, and honest purposes of revenue,—but it insists that revenue must be the true object and not the incident of all tariff taxation.

Protection is only a species of paternalism, and should not be encouraged. It tends to build up large monopolies, to create odious trusts and syndicates, to breed corruption, to embarrass legitimate business, and to interfere with the natural laws of trade. Its constant importunities demoralize Congress: its selfish efforts largely control

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our elections: and its malign influence impairs the independence of our public men. A learned writer has pertinently said, "Protection and corruption have gone, and can hardly fail to go, hand in hand."

The country was never in greater need of the Democratic party than now. Its services are especially demanded in preventing, if possible, the foisting of a high protective tariff upon the nation. Already the air is filled with the clamor of the expectant recipients of legislative favors demanding an extra session of Congress in order that the distribution and scramble may immediately begin without waiting for the regular session in December next, and Republican leaders seem disposed to yield to the pressure, although there is to-day (January 1, 1897) a surplus of $127,615,461.42 in the Treasury (in addition to the gold reserve of $100,000,000), which is sufficient to liquidate the comparatively small annual deficit in revenues for at least two years to come. Yet in spite of these facts the business interests of the country are to be disturbed the greater part of the coming summer by an extra session, by continued tariff discussion, and by the enactment of a radical high tariff measure—not for the legitimate purpose of increasing revenues, but for the selfish purpose of increasing taxes, of preventing importations, of destroying competition, of raising prices to consumers, and of enriching a favored few to whom the Republican party is indebted for obligations assumed and important partisan services rendered in the recent campaign.

It is not probable that the people will approve this mistaken programme, and it is not unlikely that the false steps about to be taken by the Republican party—against the advice of some of its ablest and most discreet statesmen—may furnish the desired opportunity of the Democracy to return to power again.

It is quite clear that the people will not sanction radicalism in either direction in tariff legislation. The Wilson bill, unfortunately, was deemed extreme in one direction, producing deficiencies instead of adequate revenues, thereby incurring popular disapproval: but will not a high protective tariff measure, with all its accompanying enormities, be a mistake in the opposite direction and soon overwhelm its authors in the popular reaction which is sure to follow its enactment? History sometimes repeats itself. It is impossible for the Republicans, with their well-known environments, tendencies, and temptations, to pass a moderate and acceptable tariff bill. They have aroused as well as endorsed the spirit of paternalism and they are now unable to resist its inexorable demands.

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Prof. Goldwin Smith in a recent and very able article in THE FORUM[1] appropriately speaks of the inconsistency of Republican attacks upon the theories of Populism, as follows:

> "It seems to be truly said also that the paternalism involved in Protection has had its effect in breeding among Populists and socialists a tendency to invoke state aid contrary to the fundamental idea of the American Commonwealth. A manufacturing company which is receiving a dividend of 10 per cent demands, and uses its influence in Congress to obtain, state protection against free competition. How can its members consistently preach individual independence to the Populist who wants the state to provide him with a market for his grain, or to a socialistic mechanic who wants the state to assure him a full wage for a reduced day's work? That the state can create prosperity by legislation, is the fallacy against which, when it appears in the guise of socialism or Populism, Protectionist capital fights, but upon which its own theory is in fact built."

This similarity in the doctrines of Protection and Populism may account for the fact that while Republicans in New York during the recent campaign with assumed patriotic fervor were vigorously denouncing Populists as dangerous to the country, their associates in the South and West, seemingly with their approval, were forming combinations with Populists, whenever any political advantage was to be gained. The Republican National Committee has been engaged in endeavoring to elect a Silver-Republican United States Senator from North Carolina through a Republican-Populist combine. It seems, from a Republican point of view, that Populism is dangerous only when it coalesces with the Democracy.

But opposition to both Populism and Protection is not the only duty which the Democratic party owes to the country and to itself. It must actively continue its championship of religious liberty—guaranteed to all the people under our Federal Constitution—but sought to be undermined and restricted in numerous ways by various bigoted elements in society, largely identified with other political organizations. Naturalized and native born citizens are not only entitled to the equal protection of our laws, but to equal opportunities in their aspirations for political honors, and any attempted proscription on account of nationality or creed is un-American in spirit and the exhibition of a narrowness and bigotry which should not be fostered or cultivated upon our soil.

Democracy must also resist the crusades of fanaticism in whatever form they may be attempted, whether openly in the shape of unreasonable sumptuary legislation unnecessarily prescribing what men shall

[1] "The Brewing of the Storm," December, 1896.

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eat, and drink, and wear, or under the disguise of guarding the morals of communities, through unjust sabbatarian laws, needlessly interfering with the harmless recreations, habits, and customs of the people. There is a wide field of usefulness open to the Democratic party in its more vigorous advocacy of the growing issue of "Personal Liberty."

Finally permit me to suggest at this time of Democratic despondency, that the needs of the hour are the revival of party pride, a firm and unyielding adherence to conceded right principles, the prompt abandonment of unsafe and untenable positions, more aggressiveness in the promulgation of party doctrines, more frequent consultations among leaders, the sinking of personal ambitions, complete separation from Populism, more candor and less demagogism in argument, increased activity, higher standards, and greater unity.

It may be asked—what of the future of the Indianapolis organization, styled the *National* Democratic party? I am not in its councils, and cannot therefore outline its intentions. It originated as a protest against the errors and false doctrines of the Chicago Convention, and if they shall be continued and persisted in, its existence is liable to be prolonged, increasing in strength and influence, becoming not only a factor in future political contests, but possibly a controlling and successful power. Its platform of principles was admirable in many respects, but its action on the financial question was a disappointment to many who hoped that it would adhere to the safe and conservative position assumed in the minority report of the Committee on Resolutions at Chicago, instead of turning a complete somersault on the coinage question and declaring in favor of a single gold standard as the permanent policy of the government. This unexpected action may have strengthened it in some quarters, but lost it much popular support among the Democratic masses.

If, guided by wise counsels, the regular organization shall avoid the mistakes of 1896, upon which I have commented,—a course which millions of Democrats sincerely hope may be pursued,—the Indianapolis organization will naturally speedily dissolve, and a united Democratic front may again be presented to the common enemy, in the last Presidential contest of the nineteenth century.

DAVID BENNETT HILL.

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THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF CUBA.

It is my purpose in this paper briefly to review the present state of the Cuban revolution, its probabilities of success, the advantages of an early termination of the war and the evils of its protraction, the economic condition of the island, and its natural resources. Furthermore, I shall inquire whether or not it is to the interest of the United States, politically and economically, that Spanish despotism should disappear from the island with as little delay as possible, and that Cuba should become an independent state.

In performing this work I shall not allow my patriotic or partisan feelings to color my views or to bias my judgment. My object is to supply information, not to mislead; and I shall state the facts, fairly and impartially, as they are known to me.

To those who have devoted any attention to the course of events in Cuba, the following facts cannot be unknown: First, that the revolutionary forces now hold the same extent of territory which they held one year ago; namely, the provinces of Santiago, Puerto Principe, Santa Clara, and Pinar del Rio,—with the exception of the ports of entry and some of the larger towns of the interior, which yet remain in the possession of Spain,—while the provinces of Matanzas and Havana now, as then, are overrun by the forces of the republic. Second, that the Cubans have, lately, laid siege and captured the town of Guaimaro, one of the strongholds of the Spaniards, and a point of strategical importance in the province of Puerto Principe. Third, that during the last twelve months several shipments of arms, ammunition, medicines, and other supplies have been successfully landed and delivered to the Cuban army. Fourth, that the Spaniards have withdrawn their garrisons from the small interior towns.

To those who are more familiar with the subject it is well known that, during the past twelve months, the civil administration of the republic has been organized in the provinces of Santiago, Puerto Principe, and, to a great extent, in that of Santa Clara; that sundry provisional civil and fiscal laws have been enacted;—among them, one regulating marriages and another dealing with the assessment and col-

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lection of taxes; that justice is administered by the prefects acting as civil magistrates; that a mail service within the territory of the republic has been established and operates without interruption, postage stamps having been in use for the last seven months; that four newspapers are printed and circulate throughout the country; that primary schools have been opened in the provinces of Santiago and Puerto Principe; that the arms and ammunition sent to Cuba represent several thousand rifles, several million cartridges, and some pieces of light artillery; that the organization and discipline of the army have greatly improved,—several thousand men having been added to its numbers,—and its effective strength increased considerably; that hundreds of men of political, social, and financial importance, who, a year ago,—undecided as to the course they should follow,—were yet living in the large cities held by the Spaniards, have, during the last six months, either joined the forces of the revolution in the field or removed to foreign countries, where they have openly declared their allegiance to the republic,—scores of them having established their temporary residence in the city of New York; and that the enthusiasm of the Cuban patriots grows daily in intensity, their confidence in the final success of the revolution being unshaken.

A fair estimation of the above-stated facts fully warrants the conclusion that the Cuban revolution has not only held its ground, but that it has made considerable advance. Two years of active service means a great deal for an army composed of newly enlisted men, undisciplined and unaccustomed to military life. In that period the raw recruit becomes almost the trained veteran, and the inexperienced officer the expert commander. Lawyers, physicians, and other professional men, who, when they joined the army, were incompetent to command a squad of fifty men, ten or twelve months later showed their ability to handle successfully a full battalion, to face an equal force of Spanish regulars, and to come out of the engagement victorious.

Trivial incidents, otherwise scarcely deserving of attention, in the Cuban war assume so much importance that they must be taken into account when estimating the effective military power of the revolutionists. For instance, the receipt by an army of five or six pieces of light field artillery may appear, and usually is, a trifling matter; yet, so soon as the Cuban forces were put in possession of them, it was clearly seen how much they had added to their strength, for by means of them the Spanish garrisons were compelled to evacuate the small towns of the interior. The explanation of the event is found in

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the topography of the island,—especially that of the eastern and central parts,—in the lack of good or even of merely passable roads, and in other physical features. Those garrisons had to be provided for from the large cities; and, in order to facilitate the transportation of supplies, the Spaniards had converted the stone houses along the roads into forts, at convenient distances from each other. By this means they kept open their line of communication and protected their convoys from ambushes and surprises; but these defences, impregnable except at a great sacrifice of life so long as the Cubans had only rifles with which to attack them, became worthless as soon as they were able to assail them with a small piece of artillery. Without these improvised forts, the Spanish convoys would seldom have reached their destination; and so, on the abandonment of the forts, it became necessary to withdraw the garrisons from the inland towns. As this event occurred some five months ago, at a time when Spain had already more than 200,000 soldiers in the island, it shows the extent to which the effective power of the Cuban army has increased.

On the other hand, the regular and uninterrupted publication of four newspapers seems to indicate that there are parts of the island undisturbed by the Spanish troops and permanently held by the Cubans; as it is not to be supposed that the publishers wander to and fro in the woods with their typographical materials. Moreover, the fact that school books have been written and printed, that schools have been opened, that a mail service has been organized, and that postage stamps are in use may be accepted as conclusive evidence that there does exist a government other than a purely military one, that its jurisdiction extends over a considerable territory, that its mandate is obeyed, and that it is performing the ordinary functions of civil government. It is true the republic does not hold any seaport. But it is equally true that more than one hundred and sixty seaports are open to it; for there are more than two hundred ports and sheltered landings in Cuba, and the Spaniards hold only some forty of them. That the Cubans freely use the others is proved by the fact that, since the beginning of the war, they have successfully and without any trouble landed on the island more than thirty shipments of arms, ammunition, and other supplies; but, being at present unprovided with heavy artillery, the attempt to hold any one of them permanently would be vain and useless.

Let us now glance at the other side. Although the Spaniards have had in the island an army exceeding 200,000 men, they have been unable, as already stated, to retain all the territory which they held one

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year ago. They have expended millions of dollars in constructing two military "trochas" or lines of forts across the island for the purpose of dividing and isolating the various divisions of the Cuban army, and the "trochas" have failed utterly to serve their destined purpose, the Cubans crossing and recrossing them whenever necessary or convenient. The Spanish concentrated an army of over 70,000 men in and about Havana; nevertheless the flying columns of the Cubans overrun the province, hover within sight of the capital, have successfully attacked and entered Guanabacoa,—a town on the other side of the bay of Havana,—and have raided several other places near.

The treasury of Spain is empty. The one hundred and forty or fifty million dollars which she raised on so-called Cuban bonds at the beginning of the war were soon dissipated. Last November she attempted to negotiate in London a loan of £4,000,000 and failed utterly. She then resorted to a national patriotic loan of eighty millions, and it was officially announced that it had been over-subscribed; but those who are familiar with Spanish methods and with the financial condition of the Spanish people do not hesitate to affirm that if the treasury received from that operation twenty or twenty-five millions in cash it did exceedingly well. Supposing, however, that the loan was really subscribed and paid in in full, as Spain had to make two heavy payments already over-due, there would be left, after deducting expenses and exchange, a balance of only about forty millions; and as the monthly war expenditure exceeds ten million dollars, and the pay of the army was two or three months in arrear, little of the money can now remain. The great display of satisfaction and the noise made by the Spanish Government in connection with that loan were intended to impress foreign bankers with the idea that there is yet a great deal of wealth in Spain; but the real condition of things in the Peninsula is well known in all the money centres of Europe, and all applications by Spain for loans will be entirely unsuccessful. What is she then to do in order to obtain means wherewith to carry on the war? Her people are already taxed to the last extremity; for the last twenty years her budget has shown a large annual deficit; Cuba yields no revenue, and Spain will have to provide the interest on the so-called Cuban bonds; the revenue previously derived from the Philippine Islands must have greatly diminished in consequence of the war in progress there, and this again is a further cause of expenditure. Merely to maintain affairs on their present footing for twelve months longer, at least two hundred million dollars will be required. Where

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and how will Spain get them? The rich Spaniards residing in the island of Cuba who might offer some assistance are discouraged, and will withhold it. They have lost faith in the ability of Spain to overcome the revolution, although they do not dare publicly to declare it; and, fully realizing that the continuation of Spanish rule in Cuba threatens them with financial ruin, they view with pleasure the advances made by the insurgents.

Limited space forbids the presentation of many other facts, but those already offered clearly show that the condition of Spain is very critical; that, both materially and morally, she is weaker than a year ago; and that, therefore, her chances of success have greatly diminished, while those of the revolutionists,—independently of the positive advance which they have made in power and effectiveness,—have increased in proportion.

But, although, as it seems to me, there is no ground for doubt as to the final issue of the revolution, it is difficult to foresee how soon its success will be an accomplished fact. Spain, though unable to gain any advantage over the Cuban patriots, can prolong the struggle for some time; and it is possible that, even when fully convinced of the futility of her efforts, she may still choose to do so, impelled by that idiotic obstinacy of which her history presents so many instances. For her, of course, the consequences will be most disastrous; but they will also be very injurious for Cuba. Until the war is brought to an end, and Spain withdraws her forces from the island, the Cubans, for their own protection, must enforce their order forbidding the raising of any crop; and therefore the whole industry of the country will remain utterly paralyzed. Again, the necessities of war may compel the destruction of many buildings and of machinery which so far have escaped unharmed; while those which may remain, uncared for and neglected, will suffer great deterioration. The protraction of the war for several years will thus mean the complete devastation of the island. The Cubans are fully aware of this, and, I must add, are fully prepared to accomplish it in order to bring about the expulsion of the Spanish.

On the other hand, an early termination of the war would stop the destruction of property; would arrest the dispersion of the population, and bring back to their homes those who have been compelled to abandon them; would prevent the development among the people of those habits of idleness and lawlessness which are, generally, one of the sad consequences of long-continued civil strife; and would facilitate the work of reconstruction.

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But, whether the war ends within a few months or is prolonged for several years, the situation in Cuba, financially considered, will be most disastrous. Of course, the longer the struggle the greater will be the calamity; but the most serious harm is already done. Indeed, to a considerable extent, it was done even before the revolution broke out: it was the work of Spanish taxation and of Spanish official blackmailing. For several years previous to 1895 most of the planters were actually paying the taxes and the blackmail—for the two things always went together in Cuba—not out of their yearly net income, but out of their capital. Such was the case with all those who had no ready money of their own—about 90 per cent of the whole class—and had to depend upon the merchant for advances wherewith to carry on the operations of their estates. Money was worth, on an average, 18 per cent per annum. Those who enjoyed the best credit could not obtain it under 12 per cent; while not a few had to pay for it even 36 per cent. All the merchants and money-lenders, with very few exceptions, were Spaniards. The planters, to the extent of about 90 per cent, were Cubans. It has been estimated that, in order to meet the fiscal demands made upon them, the planters of Cuba, during the last twenty years, have been drawing upon their previously accumulated capital to the extent of six or eight million dollars annually. Part of the sugar crop of 1894–95 was not taken in because the planters could not obtain the necessary money to pay the wages of their laborers; and at least one-third of that of 1895–96 would have remained ungathered for a similar reason, even if the Government of the republic had not forbidden the grinding of the sugar-cane. The planters had been reduced to such a condition by the rapacity of their rulers that bankruptcy was almost universal among them. The importance, therefore, from an economic point of view, of an early termination of the war lies principally in this; that the forces of the country could at once be turned to productive labor more readily and efficiently than if the war should be protracted and habits detrimental to industrial life acquired.

In an island so richly endowed by nature as Cuba is, economic recuperation can be effected very rapidly. A moderately efficient public administration, whose fiscal exactions shall deprive the producer of only what is usually contributed by him in civilized nations for the purposes of government, would at once ensure the well-being and prosperity of the people.

Let me point out a few of the important natural advantages pos-

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sessed by Cuba. At the head of these stand the climate, the soil, and the geographical position. In regard to the first, as erroneous notions prevail among foreigners who have not visited the island, especially respecting its heat and salubrity, a few facts will not be amiss. The average temperature at Havana during July and August, the hottest months, is 82° Fahr., and the extremes are 88° and 76°. In the coolest months, December and January, the average is 72°, the maximum 78°, and the minimum 58°. Outside the city it is lower. It varies very little from these figures either in the central or in the eastern parts of the island, except in some localities,—as in and about the cities of Santiago and Bayamo, in the province of Santiago, where the temperature rises four or five degrees more. In the higher sections of the provinces of Santiago and Puerto Principe it is lower. Excepting a few places where malarial fevers are common, the climate is very healthy. In the country districts of the eastern and central parts of the island, it is both very pleasant and salubrious. Yellow fever is unknown there, as well as in all places a few miles from the seacoast. If it prevails in some of the principal seaports, it is mainly, if not altogether, due to the utter lack of sanitary conditions. This is especially the case in Havana. A very small expenditure of money, however, would accomplish for Havana what General Butler did for New Orleans,—then a worse pest-hole than the capital of Cuba.

The island contains 35,000,000 acres of land, of which barely 2,000,000 are under cultivation, 7,000,000 are either barren or of inferior quality, 17,000,000 are virgin forests, and 9,000,000 are natural pastures. The fertility and peculiarities of the Cuban soil are well known; and it may be confidently asserted that in this respect Cuba stands unequalled. Some of her products, such as tobacco, are unrivalled; while the sugar-cane yields there a larger percentage of saccharine matter than elsewhere. Some forty species of valuable woods abound in her forests; among them being fustic, lignum vitæ, ebony, cedar, and mahogany. Only the mere borders of the forests, those nearest the seacoast, have been made to yield their riches. The rest remain untouched; because there are no roads. There is no capital; the expenses of transportation are exorbitant; and the complicated, vexatious, and costly government regulations impede and kill all enterprise.

With the exception of the sugar-cane—and we have already seen the financial condition of the planters—everything is cultivated in the most primitive manner. Under Spanish rule there is no incentive to,

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or opportunity for, any other kind of agriculture, as the tiller of the land is deprived of so great a share of his profits by fiscal exactions that he has nothing left for improvements. Moreover, by following the most primitive system he finds himself better off in the end.

All garden vegetables that can be raised in the United States find also a very propitious soil in Cuba; and some of them are of a very superior quality. This industry, however, owing to the causes which obstruct and paralyze all enterprises in the island, was so utterly neglected until lately, that potatoes and onions were largely imported from North America and even from Spain. Under moderately favorable circumstances, it may be carried on very extensively and profitably, the large cities on the Atlantic coast of the United States offering, during the winter months, a large and ready market, at exceedingly good prices, for any supplies that may be brought to them.

Many exquisite fruits are grown in Cuba, of which only three, bananas, pineapples, and oranges, are brought to this country. Yet all can be produced in large quantities at an insignificant cost; and when known in the United States they would have a large and profitable sale.

The mineral wealth of the province of Santiago is considerable. Over forty groups of iron-mines have been explored; and three hundred and fifty claims were filed before the outbreak of the revolution. The ore is very rich, and the quality of the metal equal to the best produced in Sweden. Two American companies which a few years ago established works there have obtained exceedingly satisfactory results. In the same province there are large deposits of manganese ore, scarcely yet touched. There are also some rich copper-mines.

The land in the eastern part of the island is very well adapted for the cultivation of coffee; and years ago numerous coffee plantations flourished there. Through one of those changes, however, brought about by the meddlesome and stupid interference of the Government, the industry ceased to develop and decayed, some of the fields having been even destroyed in order to make room for the sugar-cane. Yet, under normal conditions, capital employed in raising the latter will not yield as large returns as when applied to other branches of agriculture —which have been entirely neglected,—or to mining,—which has never been attempted with native capital.

The advantage to the island of its proximity to the large markets of consumption of the United States can hardly be over-estimated. It enhances to an incalculable degree the value of everything that Cuba contains or can produce.

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There is a matter directly bearing upon the future prosperity of Cuba under a republican government which I wish especially to notice, because the Spaniards have taken great pains to misrepresent it, in order to mislead foreigners and to divert their sympathies from the struggling patriots. I refer to the character of the Cubans. They are represented by the Spaniards as much given to idleness, as turbulent, thriftless, and vicious, and as requiring a government with an iron hand in order to keep them peaceful. I shall not characterize this assertion. I will simply remark that it is absolutely contradicted and belied by every page of the history of Cuba, and by the record of every one of the fifty thousand Cubans who, during the last twenty-five years, have been living abroad. Some thirty thousand have become resident in the United States; and their peaceable conduct, industry, morality, and thriftiness are facts of public notoriety. It is contradicted and belied by the fact that the whole production of Cuba is agricultural, and that not a single Spaniard has ever handled a spade or a hoe, or in any way cultivated the land; the 160,000 of them being all, directly or indirectly, engaged in trade and commerce or living by irregular means at the expense of the country. Who but Cubans, and Cubans exclusively, raised the crops and cattle annually worth one hundred and twenty-five or thirty million dollars which enabled the Government, the official blackmailers, and the Spanish monopolists to squeeze out of the island fifty or fifty-five million dollars? Under favorable circumstances, the annual production of that mass of wealth by a population not exceeding 1,400,000 souls would be a creditable performance: under the great disadvantages which oppressed and afflicted the people of Cuba, it was a remarkable tribute to their activity and diligence.

The Government did everything it could to block enterprise, to hamper industry, to discourage thrift, and to promote idleness and vice. The Cuban labored and toiled the whole year, produced a great deal of wealth, and at the end of the year found himself as poor as he was at the beginning. If he wanted to open a road through his land, he could not proceed to do so before obtaining permission from the Government, and twelve months might elapse before this was granted. He must begin by presenting a memorial to the *alcalde* of the district, to be by him endorsed and forwarded to the *alcalde* of the town; from the town it was sent to the capital of the province, thence to Havana, and from Havana to Madrid; to return, if it returned at all, by the same route. But the memorial would not move

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from one office to another, either in going or in returning, unless at each stage the officials were paid an illegal gratuity not infrequently out of all proportion to the importance of the matter. Gambling was authorized and promoted by the Government in various ways. The bi-monthly Havana lottery, which yielded annually three or four millions of dollars, cost the country four or five; and had a most demoralizing influence on the lower classes of the people.

In spite of so many obstacles and disadvantages, it can be shown that not a single improvement has been made on the island, which was not initiated and carried through by the Cubans. As regards their being turbulent, it suffices to say that had they really been so, the flag of Spain would many years ago have ceased to wave over the Morro of Havana. Their previous industry and perseverance under so many trying circumstances are an earnest of their future conduct under a free government of their own; when labor shall not be deprived of its just compensation, nor enterprise of its due reward. The activity, diligence, and thrift of the Cubans will certainly be an important factor in inspiring confidence abroad in the future of the island, and in attracting to it the capital which will ensure the development of the country and the well-being and prosperity of its people.

I shall now endeavor briefly to inquire whether or not it is in the interest of the United States that Cuba should become an independent state. In doing so I shall entirely omit all considerations of a purely moral and humane character; not because I do not attach any importance to them,—especially in the present case,—but because I wish to show that, independently of all those motives of action which "practical" men sometimes characterize as emotionalism or sentimentality, there are ample grounds and abundant inducements of a tangible and positive nature to move the United States to assume such an attitude as will result in the withdrawal of Spain and the independence of Cuba.

Spanish domination in Cuba, or the attempt at domination, will be a perpetual source of annoyance, of irritation, and of danger to the United States. Of danger, in so far as it may, at any time, give rise to international complications of a nature which it is not possible to foresee. At the present day, and under present circumstances, there is not the slightest probability—whatever some subsidized newspapers of the Old World may say—that any European nation would lend its support to Spain; and the most serious consequence of a determined and effective policy on the part of the United States, in order finally to dispose of the Cuban difficulty, would be the semblance, or

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perhaps the reality, of a war with Spain, either of which would be a matter of small importance. Yet, conditions may change in the course of years: they might change at a critical moment; and what now does not appear even as a possibility might then become an accomplished fact. Would it not be prudent and wise, therefore, to improve the present favorable opportunity and decide once and for ever a question, which, like *Banquo's* ghost, will not and never will down until it is properly and legitimately settled?

It is idle to expect that Spain will be able to suppress the present revolution. It is yet more idle to hope that any compromise can be effected between the Spanish Government and the Cubans. There was a period in Cuban history, a long one indeed, when a compromise was possible, and the Cubans exerted themselves to the utmost in order to reach it; but that period is past and gone, never to return. Now, there are only two issues: incessant war or independence. But let us suppose, against all probability, that Spain will be able to crush the revolution. Does anyone think that it can be accomplished in a short time? Spanish official announcements of a speedy termination of the war are nothing but empty Castilian bombast. What do the facts tell us? Even granting that henceforth everything should go against the Cubans and in favor of Spain, years will elapse before the former will be exhausted and the struggle will come to an end. The rebellion of 1868 continued for ten years. The Cubans then never had more than ten thousand men under arms—less than one-fourth of what they have at present. They had no permanent sources of revenue; and when the funds which were collected at the beginning of the war had been expended, they were left without pecuniary means wherewith to supply themselves with arms and ammunition. Now, they have the regular contributions of the thousands of their countrymen living in foreign countries; who faithfully pay their monthly quota into the treasury of the clubs to which they belong, to be by these latter paid into the treasury of the Cuban Delegation in New York. The amount is not large; but it has paid for 90 per cent of the thousands of rifles and millions of cartridges sent to Cuba since the beginning of the revolution.

During the previous war the Cubans neglected to provide themselves with cattle and to raise vegetables for the supply of the army. This time, one of their first measures was to drive all the cattle into the mountains,—where they can be cared for and are beyond the reach of the enemy,—and to establish various zones of agriculture in which some three thousand men are engaged in farming. They have thus

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assured their supply of arms and ammunition and their supply of food. During the rebellion of 1868–78, the war was confined, almost entirely, to the provinces of Santiago and Puerto Principe; no property was destroyed in those of Santa Clara, Matanzas, Havana, and Pinar del Rio, and agriculture suffered no interruption in them; and Spain was able to force from the island a revenue larger than in time of peace. Then, the rebellion had its origin in the upper classes, the lower ones scarcely realizing its meaning; and slavery was a great obstacle in various ways. Now, the uprising proceeded from the common people, and the upper classes joined them when they became convinced of the universality and strength of the movement.

If the Cubans, by any chance, are driven from the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Havana, Matanzas, and the western part of Santa Clara, they have the means to withstand the power of Spain for many years in the provinces of Santiago, Puerto Principe, and the eastern part of Santa Clara; a territory which represents more than five-eighths of the area of the island, and from which they can continue to raid the other provinces and to prevent the in-gathering of the crops. To set fire to the largest cane-field nothing more is necessary than a match, half a pint of kerosene, and a live snake; and the latter harmless creatures—for none of the Cuban species is poisonous—abound throughout the island. Indeed I have no doubt that the Cubans can hold out in those provinces long enough entirely to exhaust the power of Spain. But should they finally desist, it would be merely a suspension of hostilities until the next generation grows up. Should they be exterminated,—as Spain wills and threatens but is powerless to effect,—she must keep the island wholly unpeopled; for there are no worse rebels against her rule than the immediate offspring of the Spaniards. So long as Spain has a foothold on the island, Cuba will be a running sore in the side of the United States. The only way to heal it is by complete cauterization; which, in the case under consideration, means the utter separation of Spain from the country. This alone will relieve the United States from any further care and annoyance,—care and annoyance which it would be unjust to charge to the Cubans, for it is not their fault. They are human beings; they are crushed by oppression and galled by tyranny; and they rise in self-defence. Not they, but those who goad them to rebellion, should be blamed.

But if, from a political point of view, it is to the interest of the United States that Spain should withdraw from Cuba, from an economic standpoint it is still more so.

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There are some $60,000,000 (some estimate the amount at $70,000,000) of American capital now in jeopardy in Cuba. Of it some $30,000,000 are invested in sugar estates, some $20,000,000 in mortgages on various kinds of property, and the balance represents debts due by Cuban planters and merchants to bankers, merchants, and manufacturers of the United States. So long as the war continues that mass of capital will remain entirely unproductive; while if it is much prolonged it may be utterly lost.

Some persons think that Spain is responsible for the losses that may occur, and that she will accept the claims that may be made on that account. I shall not discuss this point,—a very debatable one indeed,—and I will grant both that she is responsible and that she will accept the claims. How many years will elapse before the liquidation is completed? How many more before Spain is finally brought to recognize the amount demanded? Spanish diplomacy knows only one thing; but that one it knows thoroughly. It knows how to procrastinate, and is always eminently successful. Years and years will roll by before an acknowledgment of the claims is obtained from Spain. And then, where is the money to come from? The payment of the Mora claim, amounting to only $1,500,000, was delayed for years; and it would have never been made if the so-called Cuban bonds had not produced the money. Now, there are no more and there can be no more of them.

However, let us suppose that little or no American property is destroyed in Cuba, and that Spain in the course of years succeeds in subduing the Cuban patriots. What will be the fate of that property under Spanish rule?

We have already seen that previous to the war the taxes were so heavy that the country was unable to bear them. Will they be lighter after peace is restored? In the first place, Spain never abolishes a tax. To do so is against her traditional policy: her history proves it. In the second place, two items alone of the future permanent expenditure will amount to a larger sum than that of the whole budget before the rebellion. The item for interest on the debt which Spain had imposed upon the island was then $12,000,000; and as the debt has already doubled, and before the war ends will be more than doubled, the interest on it will rise to at least $25,000,000 per annum. Before the rebellion, the cost of the army and navy was $7,000,000; but as Spain will be compelled to keep in the island a much larger army, the future cost will be at least $10,000,000. Add to these two

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items the others of the budget, which I shall leave as before, and a grand total is reached of $42,000,000, or $16,000,000 more than the amount of taxes collected in 1894, and $12,000,000 more than the sum expended. That Spain will force that revenue from the island so long as there is anything to extract it from, no one who knows Spain entertains the least doubt; and such a proceeding will result in the confiscation of whatever capital remains in Cuba. Such will be the fate of American property under Spanish rule.

Under the republic, on the other hand, as there is no public debt, —for the so-called Cuban bonds are an obligation incurred by Spain and Cuba is in no way responsible for it,—there will be no interest to pay; and a budget of some $7,000,000, or $8,000,000 will fully provide for all the current ordinary wants of the government and for purposes of national interest, which though always neglected by Spain are necessary for the material development of the country.

Again, the commerce of the United States with the island, which sometimes has risen to about $100,000,000 a year, will be exposed to perpetual fluctuations and losses so long as Spain is allowed to remain in Cuba. During the last two years it has dwindled down to almost nothing; and it will suffer a greater reduction if the war continues. Under the republic, the perturbing causes having disappeared, it will flow on uninterruptedly, and will reach a magnitude never yet attained. Cuba will not then have to go to Spain annually for $30,000,000 or $35,000,000 of merchandise which she can obtain much cheaper in the United States, and which she had to order from the Peninsula because the customs tariff favored the Spanish producer to the extent of 250 to 2,000 per cent. Indeed, I shall be very much mistaken if, within a few years after Cuba becomes independent, her commerce with the United States does not rise to twice the figure it reached before the war.

The space at my command does not allow me to enter into further details; but such facts as I have presented prove, I believe, that there are ample tangible, positive, and practical reasons for the United States to adopt such a policy as will bring about the immediate withdrawal of Spain from Cuba, and the independence of her people from a mother country which has grievously abused her trust and inflicted upon them every possible evil. For the protection as well as for the advantage and convenience of the United States, the Cuban question should be dealt with at once, effectively, and definitively.

FIDEL G. PIERRA.

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EVILS TO BE REMEDIED IN OUR CONSULAR SERVICE.

INCREDIBLE as it may seem, the consular service of the United States has, since 1789,—when the first consul was commissioned,—down to the present day, received such scant recognition from the legislative branch of the Federal Government that, in this period of one hundred and eight years, but one general act (that of 1856) looking to its improvement has been passed. Presidents, Secretaries of State, and committees of both Houses have, time and again, urged on Congress the necessity of making changes in the mode of appointing and compensating our consular officers, and have called its attention to the impossibility of securing efficient officers without permanency of tenure; but all to no avail.

The act of 1856 provided for a corps of "Consular Pupils," not to exceed twenty-five in number, from which it was intended consuls should be drawn. But in the following year the provision was repealed; and it was not until 1864 that Congress created the present corps of "Consular Clerks," thirteen in number, to be appointed after examination, and to be assigned to such consulates and with such duties as the President might direct. No clerk so appointed was to be removed from office except for cause stated in writing and submitted to Congress.

In the thirty-two years since the corps of consular clerks was created, and during which sixty-four clerks have been appointed to it, only eight have been promoted to consulships; and of these, one was refused confirmation by the Senate, and another lost his office on a change of administration. At the present time no consular clerk will accept a consulate; preferring to remain with a meagre salary of $1,200 a year (to which, possibly, the consul under whom he is serving may add a portion of the unofficial fees collected by him) rather than take the chance of being dropped altogether from the service within a year or so to make room for another man. And so we now have men who have been consular clerks at a salary of $1,200 for twenty years and more, who refuse promotion, who object to frequent transfers to other posts,—on the very reasonable plea of expense,—in whom all ambition to rise is extinct, and who seek only to be undis-

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turbed,—a condition of things certainly never dreamt of by the creators of the corps.

With the exception, then, of the creation of this corps of consular clerks, Congress has done practically nothing to correct the evils of our system, of which it has been reminded at every session. Each year, in the Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill, some change has perhaps been made in the salary of a consular officer in whom an influential member was personally interested, or whose inadequate salary the Department of State had strenuously urged should be increased; a consulate has perhaps been raised to a consulate-general; a feed office made a salaried one; but the general needs of the service have never been considered. The one great object of Congress has been, that our consular service should not cost the country anything and that it should be "a paying concern"; to obtain which laudable end, consuls have been allowed to remain underpaid and to collect, often in violation of statutes and regulations, fees to eke out their meagre salaries.

The evils complained of in 1833 by Secretary of State Livingston, by Secretary of State Buchanan in 1846, in the reports of the committees of both Houses of Congress in 1855 during the ridiculously short debate on the "Bill to Remodel the Diplomatic and Consular Systems of the United States," by Consul Bigelow in 1864, by Inspector Keim in 1871 and 1873, by Secretary of State Frelinghuysen in 1884, by Eugene Schuyler in his "American Diplomacy," and by any number of writers since that time,—most of whom have been in the diplomatic or consular services,—are still uncorrected, and bid fair to remain so; notwithstanding the efforts of some earnest Members of the Senate and the House, who have introduced bills for the reform or reorganization of the consular service, the general provisions of which all must heartily commend.

The arguments adduced by some of these writers appear to me so conclusive, that it is simply inconceivable that they should not have opened the eyes of the most prejudiced person to the absolute and urgent necessity of legislative action to assist the Executive in raising the efficiency of the consular corps. Some of these arguments I shall quote; noting only that the two greatest burdens under which the consular service has had to labor since it was first created, and which have always tended to demoralize it and keep down its efficiency, are connected with the method of appointment and the scale and mode of compensation,—both easily remedied, one would think.

John Bigelow, consul at Paris, in his report on our consular ser-

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vice, addressed to the Secretary of State February 28, 1864, says:—

"The practical results of our system, which in this respect has no parallel under any other government, are:

1. That we are obliged to select for consular posts men without the proper training and qualifications.

2. We are obliged to select men who have no intention of making a career in the consular service. Consequently they have no great inducement to qualify themselves properly for a post, which they can hope to hold only for a brief term, by the acquisition of knowledge of little or no use to them in any other profession.

3. The fact that our consuls are so transitory deprives them of their proper influence in the consular body, as well as in most political and social circles where it is the interest of the Government that they should circulate.

4. Such frequent changes prevent anything like uniformity or regularity in the conduct of consular business, which results in a serious prejudice to commerce and a grave inconvenience to the Department.

5. With each change of administration, the Government is exposed to lose the benefit of whatever knowledge and influence its agents have acquired during their terms of service, and thus, most of the time, is served by raw and, therefore, to a considerable extent, by incompetent officers.

There is no other country in the world where the tenure of the consular office is dependent upon the permanence of the home Administration. Nor can the practice be defended by any consideration whatever which looks to its usefulness and efficiency.

I am unwilling to believe that under a Government like ours which, theoretically at least, and I think practically, possesses in a larger degree than any other the means of detecting and improving opportunities for reform, anything that is essentially unreasonable and degrading to the Federal Administration is incurable; and that this particular vice will not prove incurable when its proportions come to be properly appreciated may be inferred from the experience of the military and naval services which, though deriving authority through precisely the same channels, have never been cursed with the political distemper which sweeps over the nation and ravages all the civil departments of the public service at the commencement of every new administration. It is not because the presidential candidate has not the same faculty of pledging colonelcies and major-generalships as consulates and missions that the distinction has been made; but because everyone comprehends the impossibility of having an army and navy on such terms, while the importance of an efficient consular and diplomatic corps is only beginning to be realized by the nation."

Senator Patterson, of New Hampshire, speaking, in 1868, to the Senate upon a bill for a graded system resting upon competitive examination for our consular service, advanced much the same argument. He said:—

"Under our present system, consular and diplomatic agents are selected without regard to their qualifications. As a rule, these appointments are bestowed as a reward or inducement to political service, rather than to secure, in the interests of trade and diplomacy, the best ability which the country affords.

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Not one-tenth of the whole number of appointees are conversant with the language, geography, laws, political economy, or material resources of the countries to which they are accredited. . . . The tenure of office, too, is so brief and uncertain that there can be but little *esprit de corps* in the service. Continuance is necessary to usefulness in office under our present system of appointments. . . . The system is radically defective. Neither the people nor the Government can afford to dispense with the qualifications essential to the best service in this department. . . . We do no wrong to the community when we avail ourselves of the best ability to do our work; and there is no reason why Government should not be allowed to follow the same dictate of common sense in the selection of its agents. At least it should be permitted to employ a system of appointments which will tend to elevate and improve, and not one which tends to degrade and demoralize the service."

With these two quotations I will pass to the question of compensation, which is an equally, if not more, serious evil; prefacing my remarks on the subject by a short explanation of the nature of consular officers' compensation. There are two classes of officers in the consular service of the United States; the one paid fixed salaries appropriated annually by Congress, the other compensated by fees. The latter are allowed to retain up to $2,500 a year, all the official fees, —a few of which are fixed by law, but by far the greater part being authorized by the President,—paid to them for services to American vessels and seamen. Besides this allowance, any unofficial fees—to which the only limit prescribed is, that they shall always be "reasonable" and agreed upon between the consul and the party paying them —belong to these officers, as they do also to salaried consuls.

Early in the century the evil of allowing consular officers to collect fees was urged upon the consideration of Congress; but it was not until the general act of 1856 that even a partial remedy was found. This act was supposed to have corrected the evils resulting from consuls deriving all their compensation from fees; but in 1871, Inspector of Consulates, De B. Keim, in his report to the Secretary of the Treasury said:—

"The act of 1856 was doubtless designed to correct the most conspicuous of the abuses which prevailed . . . the evils prior to that date may have been mitigated, or may have suffered temporary abatement . . . they were certainly not eradicated; and these abuses . . . have been perpetuated in most cases by each succeeding officer."

Again, in 1879, General Julius Stahel, then Consul at Hiogo (Japan), wrote to the Department of State:—

"The permission granted to consular officers of receiving unofficial fees for notarial acts, etc., is liable to abuse, and is the root of many evils and irregularities

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. . . I suggest that the permission to charge unofficial fees be withdrawn, and that all fees received by consular officers, for whatsoever service rendered, be considered as official, and so accounted for. . . . In this way one of the greatest evils of our service would be remedied, and dignity added to the representation of the United States in foreign countries."

Secretary Frelinghuysen, in his report of 1884 on the consular service, said :—

"In the opinion of the Department, the present system of compensation by fees, either official or unofficial, should be abolished. Whatever money comes into the consul's hands should be turned into the Treasury of the United States, and he should depend for his support entirely upon the salary allowed by Congress."

In 1885, writing on the same subject to the Department, General John S. Mosby, Consul at Hongkong, expressed himself even more emphatically :—

"Consular fees should, in my opinion, be altogether abolished. . . . The best way to secure honesty in the public service is to make it impossible for officers to be dishonest. I can see no sound reason for sending consuls abroad to collect revenue for the Government. You might as well send the navy to do it."

Perry Belmont, who has been in our diplomatic service, wrote in THE FORUM for January, 1888, that :—

"The injurious effects of the system of compensating consular officers by fees cannot be doubted. . . . The practice puts a premium on dishonesty, both on the part of the exporter and the consular representative."

And both Eugene Schuyler and Albert Washburn—men whose opinions deserve our careful consideration and demand our respect—speak of the system as "deleterious," "debauching in its influence," and "vicious."

As bearing directly on the fee question, I must refer in some detail to "Consular Agents." These officers, whose number is unlimited, are appointed by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the consuls, whose agents they are, and to whom they are directly responsible. They reside at various localities within the respective consular districts, where certain duties are performed by them for which they collect fees. Out of these fees they may retain a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars a year, unless they have agreed with the consul—as is often the case—to accept less, and the consul may receive an aggregate sum of one thousand dollars a year from his agents; all fees in excess of this are supposed to be accounted for to the Treasury. Did the consuls themselves perform these duties, the fees collected

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would have to be turned into the Treasury; hence their desire to have as many agents under them as possible, even though they be only a mile away from their office doors.

Mr. Keim in 1873 said of these consular agencies: "The practice often resorted to by consuls, in driving business from their own offices to their agencies, is also a common abuse"; and what was said then holds good at the present day. But, besides this already grave objection to the agencies, a not less serious one lies in the fact that these officers—most, if not all, of whom are engaged in trade—are enabled to undersell on the American markets their local competitors, owing to the unfair advantage they derive in certifying their competitors' invoices of goods destined for the United States (although the regulations hold these invoices to be confidential documents). The officers thus ascertain the exact prices at which the goods are being disposed of, and can underbid.

The objections to consular agents apply with nearly equal force to another class of consular officers, known as "Commercial Agents." So far as this Government is concerned, these officers are "full, principal, and permanent consular officers," with exactly the same powers and duties as consuls. They are, strangely enough, appointed by the President without the advice and consent of the Senate, and are compensated by official fees not to exceed $2,500 a year. Their number is unlimited; and it is thus possible to appoint one wherever it is perceived that the amount of business is sufficiently large to insure him a fair compensation,—to the detriment, of course, of the nearest consul, who probably had, until then, a consular agency at the locality, from which he was deriving considerable profit.

The rank of commercial agent is not, however, recognized by many foreign powers as that of a full consular officer; and in their relations with the local authorities these officers do not always receive the same consideration as would a consul or even a vice-consul, but are treated only as agents of the Government for the collection of information bearing on trade and commerce. In the opinion of Mr. Frelinghuysen, in the report quoted from above, they "are unnecessary, except in a few countries where the number of consuls is limited by the foreign Government, and yet where consular representatives of some kind are required in excess of the number of consuls permitted . . . . but the agents should all be salaried." Other writers on the subject have advocated the suppression of these offices, but to no avail,—there are nearly as many to-day as there were ten years ago.

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Briefly then, the principal evils of our consular system have been:

1. Imperfect mode of selection of consular officers.

2. No permanency of tenure.

3. Inadequate compensation; resulting in (*a*) the exaction of excessive fees and (*b*) the creation of consular agencies to increase salary.

4. Excessive number of feed consulates and commercial agencies.

5. Imperfect enforcement of regulations, especially as regards amounts of fees and their collection.

In the light of past experience we have little ground for hoping that the legislative branch of the Government will soon take more interest in this subject than it has in the past. Congressional action in the premises being therefore, to my mind, a very remote though devoutly to be sought for contingency, the question arises, "What can the executive branch of the Government do to correct the evils complained of, and to promote, under existing laws, the efficiency of the consular corps?"

1. It can adopt a fixed mode of admission and promotion.

2. It can prescribe (with the exception of certain fees fixed by law) the fees to be collected by consuls.

3. It can regulate the number of feed consulates and of commercial and consular agencies.

There is, as I have shown, unanimity of opinion as to the evils to be remedied. In view then of the above-mentioned powers now vested in the Executive,—which are sufficient, to my mind, to minimize, if not absolutely to end them,—we may confidently expect that the consular service will, within a comparatively short time, reach a high degree of efficiency if the reforms recently instituted are given the trial to which they are, in fairness, entitled.

The most important step taken during the last twenty years toward raising the efficiency of the personnel of the consular service was the Executive Order of September 20, 1895, by which the President directed that thereafter:

"any vacancy in a consulate or commercial agency with an annual salary or compensation from official fees of not more than $2,500 nor less than $1,000 should be filled by transfer or promotion from some other position under the Department of State of a character tending to qualify the incumbent for the position to be filled; by the appointment of a person not under the Department of State, but having previously served thereunder to its satisfaction in a capacity tending to qualify him for the position to be filled; or by the appointment of a person who, having been selected by the President for examination, is found, upon such examination, to be qualified for the position."

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Under this Order an Examination Board was organized by the Secretary of State, consisting of three members: they are at present the Assistant Secretary of State, a Judge of the U. S. Court of Claims (who had formerly been Assistant Secretary of State), and the Chief of the Consular Bureau. Since its creation this Board has examined thirteen persons for appointment, eight of whom it reported were well qualified to fill the posts they sought to obtain, and five of whom were found unfit for appointment. In the case of one applicant designated for examination to fill a small consulate at $1,000 salary, the Board reported that he was too valuable a man to relegate to such a place, and suggested that he be appointed to a more important one. The President adopted the recommendation of the Board, and appointed the applicant to an important consulate in Central America.

Though the Executive Order of September 20, 1895, excluded from examination certain classes of consular officers whose salaries were either superior to $2,500 or less than $1,000, its spirit has been strictly adhered to, in their cases, as is shown by the following:

Exclusive of the eight appointments above referred to, twenty-five have been made since January 1, 1896. Of these, sixteen were in the nature of promotion of subordinate officers or transfers; four were of persons having previously served in the consular service; three were to posts the salaries of which were superior to $2,500 (Apia, Ch'ung-k'ing, and Havana), for which persons well qualified by a knowledge of the countries, languages, and the peculiar conditions there to be met were chosen; and four were to positions with a compensation from official fees of less than $1,000, where competent American citizens having resided in the country and familiar with languages spoken therein were given the positions in lieu of aliens who had previously held them. In one case, the appointment was made to fill a vacancy created by the removal of an inefficient consul.

Another defect, to which many writers on the subject of our consular service have called attention, is the absence of any adequate system of inspection of our consular establishments, by means of which irregularities could be detected and remedied, a uniform method of business enforced, useless consulates or agencies closed, and the standing of the various consular officers among the people with whom they were living ascertained. An inspection of our consulates was made in 1869 by De B. Keim, and another partial one by the Rev. John P. Newman in 1873. But the first, though thorough, bore little fruit; and the latter failed absolutely of practical results, presumably from lack of knowl-

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edge of consular affairs on the part of the worthy inspector. Though year after year Congress was asked for funds to enable the Secretary of State to make another inspection, it was only in 1896 that a sum of $10,000 was put at his disposal for this purpose.

In May, 1896, the Chief of the Consular Bureau of the Department of State began the inspection of our consulates; visiting Havana, Mexico, Canada, Great Britain and Ireland, and the continent, in the order named, with directions to proceed afterward to Asia. Another inspector has lately been chosen in the person of one of our secretaries of legation to a South American republic, and has been ordered to inspect the consulates of Central and South America; while still another officer has been sent to perform the same duty in the West Indies. The beneficial result of this careful inspection by thoroughly qualified men is already appreciable. Orders have issued from the Department by which shippers have been relieved of the payment of fees amounting to not less than $50,000 a year; several consuls, found unworthy of their trust, have been removed from office; numbers of useless consular agencies have been closed; various minor irregularities—nearly all bearing on the subject of fees—have been corrected; and the recurrence of similar faults made more difficult, if not impossible.[1]

The Executive, it has been said, has power to regulate the number of feed consulates, commercial and consular agencies, many of which I have shown to be unnecessary, and should, on the ground of the general objections applying to all feed offices, be abolished. Within the last two years, eight feed consulates have been made salaried ones; and, from seventy-seven in 1888, the total number of these offices has been reduced to sixty-one. Nine feed commercial agencies have in the same period been made salaried consulates; and the total number of such agencies has been reduced to thirty, as compared with thirty-four in 1888. The number of consular agencies has remained, I regret to say, practically the same during the last ten years; being in 1888 four hundred and forty-seven and in 1896 four hundred and fifty-eight. But I venture to affirm that at least a hundred of these might be closed without in any way affecting our commercial interests or causing any inconvenience to American citizens or shippers, and the commercial agencies might be reduced to one-half their present number, or even wholly abolished, with equal advantage.

Finally, the Executive should, I submit, order that only such fees be collected as are borne on the statute-books and cannot be prohibited

[1] See Report of the Secretary of State to the President, 1896, pp. 30, 31.

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without the action of Congress; all other services of consular officers acting in their official or notarial capacity to be performed free of any charge whatsoever. The objection made by many persons to this measure is, that the compensation of consuls would be so reduced that good men would be driven from the service. I venture to affirm, after a somewhat extended knowledge of the consular service and its personnel, that such would not be the case, and that the efficiency of the service would not be impaired in the least. Undoubtedly a number of middle-aged men, who have sought in the service relaxation or a means to better their condition, would resign; but this would be a distinct gain, not a loss, as it would enable the President to promote deserving subordinates willing and desirous of making a career of the service. It would close, it is true, all consular agencies. But, as I have already said, in my opinion nearly all these offices are useless; for shippers are not required to appear in person before the consuls for the certification of their invoices, but can do so through their agents at the places where the consuls reside, without incurring any delay in their shipments, and with very little, if any, extra expense.

Where consulates, in addition to those now in existence, are found to be imperatively required, they should be estimated for in the annual estimates of the Department of State submitted to Congress; and it is my belief that $50,000 a year would be ample for all such new offices as would be found necessary, after the closing of all feed ones now in existence.

Even these important changes do not exhaust the power of the Executive branch of the Government under existing laws; but to bring about any permanent amelioration a fixed policy must be adopted extending beyond the lifetime of any one administration. It is not claimed that the methods inaugurated by Secretary Olney are the best conceivable; but, it may be said of them what he himself says of his scheme of consular examinations, "it may surely be claimed for it that it will be at least a step in the right direction, and a step to be judged of not by the advance it itself makes, but by the advance it may rightly be expected to inevitably lead to."

I see no necessity to amend materially the Executive Order of September 20, 1895, if it be understood that consular offices with salaries of more than $2,500 are exclusively reserved for persons who have served to the satisfaction of the Department of State in less important posts.

The system of non-competitive examination has much in my eyes

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to commend it; as no form of purely competitive examination can bring out all the peculiar qualifications necessary in good consular officers. As Mr. Albert Washburn remarks, "Tact, discretion, sound judgment, and good manners cannot be scientifically measured by any scale of percentages"; and I am distinctly in favor of giving to the Secretary of State and to the Board of Consular Examiners much more latitude in choosing consular officers than they could possibly have if a purely competitive system of examinations were adopted.

The reforms which I have suggested as being within the power of the Executive to bring about need not, in fact should not, be carried out suddenly, but gradually, and might advantageously be made to extend over four or even eight years; but, that they should be introduced and consistently followed out to their natural and logical conclusion, there can be no doubt. They embody the experience of more than half a century, and have been persistently called for by those best qualified to speak on the subject. It makes little difference whether the first step in the way which we know to be the right one be taken at the beginning or the end of an administration: the essential thing is not to stop the advance; not to retard, in expectation of some possible, vaguely promised action of Congress, the movement to raise the standard of efficiency in our consular service.

Furthermore, the course which it is suggested should be followed by the Executive in no way interferes with future Congressional action. It leaves it open to the legislative branch of the Government to do its share in the work of reorganization, without the slightest apprehension that any steps taken by it, however radical they may be, can substantially alter or annul the reforms instituted; for Congress must follow the same lines as the Executive. Furthermore, I believe that the work of Congress will be greatly simplified by such a course as that now suggested; which may, I hope, result in hastening the time when that body will pass the necessary legislation to complete the reform.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter into a lengthy discussion of all the minor defects in our present consular system; they are too well known to everyone to require examination here; and most of them will disappear if the Department of State is constantly supplied with means to inspect all offices where irregularities are apprehended to exist. I am concerned only with the principal evils; and I have pointed out what I conceive to be an easy method of remedying or at least minimizing their pernicious effects.

WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL.

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LADIES' CLUBS IN LONDON.

MAN has often been called a "clubbable animal,"—a modern adaptation, doubtless, of a remark of Aristotle's. Whether "man" in this sense includes woman, as "person" is said to do, is a point that might give the learned some cause for discussion; but, leaving the vague realms of theory for the plain domain of fact, it is certain that within the last few years London women have become distinctly clubbable, and that the lament about the careless husband who forsakes his family for his club is growing less loud in the land since the wife is able to retaliate, if she pleases, by resorting to her own.

The rise of ladies' clubs in England is a fact that the social historian cannot afford to overlook; for it is a sign of the times. The division of labor between the two sexes is no longer summed up by Kingsley's line,

"Men must work, and women must weep,"

since women work too nowadays, and hence have less time and occasion for weeping. Then the old-fashioned pleading, "Poor dear! he works so hard all day, he must have some amusement in the evening," is gradually disappearing before the consciousness that women too have a right to a little fun when their day's work is over. So the British matron and the English girl have started clubs for themselves; and London is growing full of them.

Far be it from me, however, to suggest that fun and frivolity are the keynotes of these institutions. They have various aims to suit various needs; and as the modern Englishwoman is inclined, on the whole, to be serious, she is apt to combine an aim and a mission with her amusement. As a result, many of the ladies' clubs have what might be described as an Object with a capital O, which justifies the members in their own eyes in partaking of their comforts and advantages.

In the first rank of these comes the Pioneer Club, which, though by no means one of the oldest, since it has but recently celebrated its fourth birthday, has "given to talk," as the French say, more than

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any other. The founder and president of this club is Mrs. Massingberd, who has attained a well-earned celebrity for her zeal and devotion in the great cause of temperance. The daughter and heiress of Mr. Massingberd of Gunby Hall, Lincolnshire, whose family boasts a long and romantic history, she was brought by her marriage with Mr. Edward Langton—a disciple of John Stuart Mill—into contact with some of the leaders of modern thought, and was thereby initiated into altruistic teaching and advanced views on the position of women and on the responsibilities of wealth and intellect. Mrs. Massingberd was led thus to throw herself with zeal into many great causes; and in 1882, while residing at Bournemouth, she took up the question of total abstinence, and started a public-house and social club for men and women on temperance lines. Some time after this, when she inherited the Gunby estate—which carries with it manorial rights—and in consequence resumed her father's name, she closed the Massingberd Arms and reopened it as a temperance house; a bold step, as all who are acquainted with English country inns will admit. She also abolished the drinking customary at the rent-audit,—when it is usual to give the tenant-farmers a dinner on the occasion of paying their rents,—and instead gave each tenant a present; reducing the rents of those who were too poor to pay.

Mrs. Massingberd felt certain that there were in the country many other thinking women like herself; and she believed that some form of union between these might have valuable results, and go far to help forward the great ends that all of them held dear. She therefore decided to start, at her own expense, a club for cultivated women, where they might constantly meet, cement their interests, and try to influence public opinion in the light of the views of advanced women: for this purpose Mrs. Massingberd took premises in Regent Street. After a time increasing numbers necessitated the removal of the club, which now owns an elegantly appointed house in Bruton Street, Berkeley Square, once the residence of Lord Hastings, and not far from Lord Rosebery's mansion.

The Pioneer is what is commonly known as a proprietary club, *i. e.*, one where the whole financial responsibility is undertaken by one person, and the members have only to pay their subscriptions and observe the rules. This was the best way to serve Mrs. Massingberd's purpose; for the Pioneer Club thus becomes, in a way, the reflection of her own mind,—the means by which the ideas that originated in her brain may be diffused over a wider circle. The name is borrowed

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from Walt Whitman; and on the entrance-porch we meet his words:

"We the route for travel clearing,
Pioneers, oh Pioneers,
All the hands of comrades clasping,
Pioneers, oh Pioneers."

The appropriate badge of the club is a silver axe brooch; and the democratic idea, which, in spite of the presidency, is meant to pervade the whole, is exemplified by giving each member a number, which she is expected to use instead of her name. The Pioneers are to work for progress of all kinds, to hew down with their axes the jungle-growth of prejudice and caste feeling; and in so doing they must be guided by their own sense of right and not by Mrs. Grundy's, as is shown by the second motto, on the stained glass over the arch that divides the outer and the inner halls—

"They say. What say they? Let them say."

This does not however exhaust Pioneer ethics; for the two following quotations are inscribed in the drawing-room: "Love thyself last." "In great things unity, in small things liberty, in all things charity."

The Pioneer Club is in no way prevented by its serious aim from giving due importance to comfort and elegance. On the ground-floor are the president's private sitting-room and the dining-room, where the debate-night dinner takes place once a week,—an important social event. Lunch and light refreshments may be had every day; but under no circumstances may any form of alcoholic drink be served. No matter what a member's own views on the question of temperance may be, in the character of club member she is bound to be an abstainer. On the first-floor are the drawing-rooms, daintily decorated with gold-colored damask and ivory-hued woodwork. From the walls portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Napoleon, Walt Whitman, and Lady Henry Somerset look down in the character of presiding saints; but these are thrown into the shade by a large canvas hanging over the mantel in the back drawing-room. It represents a beautiful woman reclining among clouds, while a fairer, younger form soars away into the heavens, and is popularly known as, "The Birth of the Pioneer," though the artist christened it, "The Birth of a Planet." Upstairs are four bedrooms for the use of members; but no one may keep a room for longer than a fortnight.

The club thus furnishes a comfortable lounge for those ladies who

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can afford to pay the three-guinea entrance-fee and a subscription of similar amount, and who find it pleasant to have a central place in London, where they may rest after shopping and concerts, meet their friends, read the papers, and, if so disposed, indulge in a quiet cigarette in the smoking-room. The qualification for membership certainly requires that the candidate "shall take a personal interest in one or more of the various movements for women's social, educational, and political advancement"; but there are few women in London who could not be classified under one or other of these headings. It would not, however, be worthy of its name were it not something more than a place of social gathering. The club has a real record of work to show. It has enabled like-minded women to join together in doing various charitable works. A small hospital, a home for little girls, a temperance hotel, a coffee-tavern club for working-men and women, a mission-room,—are all indirect results of the club, which has also started an Anti-Vaccination Society, and even a Ladies' Tailoring Association, in which latter —the sad truth must be confessed—the work is done by men!

Probably the most characteristic feature of the Pioneer is the Thursday-evening debate, where the subjects that are most engaging the thought of the day are brought forward for discussion. The club is catholic in its interests, and listens to all sides. On one occasion it invited Tom Mann to speak on the Independent Labor party, and listened with patience to his denunciations of Liberals and Conservatives alike and his explanation of the motives which make "independent labor" so thoroughly disloyal an ally. On another it listened to a prolonged attack from a not very modern-minded clergyman on the organization of charities, with an eloquent plea for indiscriminate almsgiving and the bestowal of half-crowns on the undeserving. It has sat out discussions on The Navy League, Wagner's Music, and Theosophy; but it is really in its element when women's questions are to the fore. The franchise and the equality of the sexes will always call forth an animated debate; and there is a tendency to make almost every subject lead up to the New Woman,—her rights, duties, and responsibilities. An excellent peg on which to hang such theories was furnished by the question, "Is modern fiction a faithful picture of modern life?"; the negative side being supported by Annie Swan, one of our most prolific writers of simple stories, and the affirmative, by Mrs. Henry Norman, of "Gallia" fame. One of the speakers made an earnest plea to her sisters to take an interest in something besides housekeeping and babies, if only for the sake of these very objects themselves. "We

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want," said she, "a household where the children are educated but not spoilt, where the husband is attended to but not made a fool of." The standard of eloquence naturally varies on different occasions; but, to the credit of the Pioneers be it said, they know good speaking and they try to encourage it. One of the best debaters holds classes for beginners, at which the timid are encouraged to endure the sound of their own voices; a practice the more valuable on account of the absolute neglect of speaking in English schools.

Since the advanced woman reigns supreme, it is a matter of course that Sarah Grand is a member; also Mona Caird, author of the great discovery that marriage is a failure, Mrs. Wynnford Phillips, the charming apostle of women's rights, and Marie Corelli, who boasts the "largest circulation" of all our novelists. The Pioneers have the privilege of numbering among their ranks Lady Henry Somerset, whose name is honored on both sides of the Atlantic for her whole-hearted advocacy of every great movement and her earnest labors on behalf of the suffering and oppressed. Naturally enough the club also attracts within its charmed circle the faddist and the devotee of the 'ism; but it is good for them to rub shoulders with the woman of wider aims as well as with the ordinary "average person," of whom there is a good sprinkling on the members' roll.

From the Pioneer, with its elegant surroundings and comfort, to the New Somerville Club, in Oxford Street, seems a step down in the social scale; but historically this should have first claimed our attention, since its start was made as early as 1881. The original aim of the Somerville Club was a democratic one: the subscription—five shillings—was to be within the reach of all; and rich and poor, the idle woman and the hard worker in shop or school, were to meet here on the assumption that the bond of womanhood was stronger to unite than the prejudices of caste and fortune to sever. But alas for such lofty theories based on a five-shilling subscription! The scheme was too ideal to work. The club struggled on for seven years in uncomfortable premises in Mortimer Street; and at last the conviction was forced on the committee that something must be done. That "something" took the form of a complete reorganization of the club with an increased subscription of ten shillings,—afterwards raised to twelve shillings and sixpence,—and better premises. These were chosen over an aërated-bread shop in Oxford Street; thus solving the difficult problem of economical catering, and bringing the club near to the haunts of fashionable ladies. Not that it is or ever will be the smart

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woman's club. It is useful but not elegant; the approach—through a narrow passage and up a back staircase—is against it; the rooms do not even boast a cheap prettiness. But, though outward show is disregarded, the members cannot complain of any lack of intellectual fare.

From the beginning the Somerville had a twofold aim: (1) to encourage in women an interest in political and social problems; and (2) to afford opportunities for rest, light refreshment, and social intercourse and recreation;—the latter being made expressly subordinate to the former. The prospectus stated that the club was founded "for the purpose of affording to women interested in political and social questions some central place of meeting, where opportunity will be afforded for serious discussion and the interchange of opinions and information," the qualification for membership being "interest in social and political questions." Among the original members are the names of many ladies well known in the world of intellect and social reform, *e. g.*, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, Mme. Bodichon, Miss Frances Power Cobbe, Miss Octavia Hill, and others, who adopted it as a "cause" from philanthropic motives.

Like the Pioneer, the Somerville holds frequent debates and an occasional social evening. The discussion is less formal and the speaking less good than may be heard in Bruton Street; but now and then the committee is fortunate enough to get some good speaker from outside to attend and open a debate. The strong point of the Somerville is the reading-room, where a large and varied assortment of papers is provided, and ladies who are fond of periodical literature may easily recoup themselves for their small subscription by reading the papers in comfort. The chief use of the club is probably as a parlor and reading-room for the many women whose means only allow them the use of a single room, and who are glad to find rest and social intercourse here away from their dreary lodgings,—an admirable end, as all who know anything of the underpaid workers of London must admit. An attempt is now being made to introduce new features in the shape of billiard- and smoking-rooms,—or rather room; for want of space will necessitate the combination of the two in the upstairs apartment hitherto sacred to silence and lunches. Whether these changes will really prove for the advantage of a club of this character seems by no means certain; but it is not for us to prophesy. In spite of financial difficulties the Somerville has the credit of being a self-supporting club. The members make the rules, elect the committee, and have the right of objecting to undesirable candidates for election.

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While the Pioneer and the Somerville avowedly aim at widening the lives of women, the University Club for Ladies contents itself with a much simpler object, *i. e.*, to provide a central meeting-place in London for ladies who have enjoyed the benefit of a university course. It seems at first sight a little surprising that after three or four years at college the alumna's idea of a club should be merely a place for tea and talk, without the slightest attempt to force one of her own fads on an unwilling neighbor, or to take up a friend's "cause" instead of her own. But this would be a hasty judgment, formed only by those who were not aware of the existence of the Women's University Settlement, the University Association of Women Teachers, the Inter-University debates, besides the dinner and tennis associations of the individual colleges, and the many educational societies in which university women play a more or less prominent part. When this is borne in mind, it is no longer surprising that the college woman's idea of a club is a place where she can rest from her labors.

The present premises of the club are in Maddox Street, just out of Bond Street, the favorite quarter for ladies' clubs; but high rents and the low subscription of a guinea necessitate a limitation of space. The visitor who calls for the first time at No. 47 Maddox Street is surprised to find the ground-floor occupied by a large tailor's shop, not in any way suggestive of feminine influence; but the milliner on the first-floor gives a fresh aspect to affairs, and may, perhaps, have reflected, in choosing her quarters, that the open door of her shop was likely to prove a snare to the club lady as she walks past on the way to her own domain on the second- and third-floors. Just past the shop is a door labelled, "University Club for Ladies"; and, after passing through, one reads the notice, "Please beware of steps immediately outside this door,"—a not unnecessary caution. But, once past the stairs and through the door, the most fastidious cannot but be pleased with the dainty appearance of the little club premises. The front room, whose large bow-window admits of a peep into the joys of Bond Street, is the general club- and reading-room. It is comfortably, though simply, furnished; a feature being the number of tiny tables meant to serve as nuclei for different tea-parties; while, in winter-time, the pretty fireplace forms a pleasant centre for chat. Here are the papers and magazines, chosen by the members by vote once a year. "Mind" and others of the more serious reviews suggest the learned title of the club; but there are concessions to weaker spirits in the way of lighter magazines and even an occasional society paper. The

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back drawing-room is meant for rest and letter-writing: a comfortable sofa invites the weary; and here are also two writing-tables supplied with the club writing-paper and other requisites. Passing through, we reach the little dressing-room, provided with hot and cold water, mirrors, etc., and a large bath for the use of the one visitor the club can accommodate. Upstairs are dining-room, guest's bedroom, housekeeper's room, and kitchen. Lunch is provided in the middle of the day; dinners are supplied by arrangement; tea, coffee, and other light refreshments are served at any time in any of the rooms. Tea is undoubtedly the English college woman's beverage; but there is no embargo on stronger drink, and wine may always be had on the premises. Indeed any regulation against it would be an unfair limitation of the rights of members, since it is to them the club belongs: they elect the committee, ballot for new members, attend general meetings, and generally carry on the whole business in a democratic spirit.

In view of the necessity of establishing smoking-rooms in some ladies' clubs, it is worth noting that no such want has ever been experienced here. Gentlemen visitors are rigidly excluded from the club premises; not from any hatred of the sex, but through want of space. When the membership has increased sufficiently to allow of removal to a larger building, it will be possible to have a visitors' room, where members may receive guests without disturbing the quiet and comfort of others. Small as are the present premises they are a distinct advance on those in Bond Street, where the club originally opened; and even those tiny rooms were welcomed as a long-desired realization of a scheme first mooted in 1882. For nearly four years an association to promote the establishment of the club struggled on; gradually adding to its numbers, until at last it was resolved into the club itself.

The club does not limit its membership to graduates, but admits also lecturers and students who have been in residence a certain time at one of the colleges, as well as undergraduates of any university who have passed the next examination after matriculation. This enables ladies to join before the completion of their course, and helps to maintain interest and sympathy between past and present. The University Club has witnessed many a pleasant and unexpected meeting between college acquaintances who had not seen each other for years, and who had much to tell of experiences, professional and private, since those happy days. College news is quickly circulated here, the latest university triumphs and announcements of tennis

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matches find their place on the notice-board, and college societies make it their place of meeting. Hence the little Maddox Street rooms are links between the present and the past: the happy mother to whom her college days are a pleasant dream of the past; the busy lecturer or high-school teacher; the eager philanthropist and the journalist; the factory inspector and the successful doctor;—all these have a stake in the club and a feeling of filial affection reflected from their old love for *Alma Mater*. The University Club supplies too real a need to be in any doubt of a successful future.

After teaching, it is probably literary work that supports the greater number of our educated women; and though the woman journalist and lady novelist can find a welcome at one or other of the clubs already described, it is not surprising that they should prefer to have a domain of their own, where their special needs and convenience may be considered. The journalist, like Dr. Johnson, naturally desires to take a walk down Fleet Street, since this is the centre of the newspaper world. The Writers' Club—where, be it understood, "writer" is a strictly feminine term—therefore turns its back on the frivolities of Bond Street and Piccadilly, and has found a home in Norfolk Street, Strand, not far from the spot where Temple Bar once stood, and where the much-abused griffin disports himself in front of the new Law Courts. Hastings House, where the club is located, is a high red-brick building, crammed full of offices, and suggestive of stern business. The Writers' has to content itself with a humble domain in the basement; for rents are enormous in this busy quarter of the town, and authors are not exactly a wealthy race. The subscription and entrance-fee are one guinea each; and the condition of membership is that the applicant must have done at least one piece of work that has been published and paid for,—a rough-and-ready test, which would have excluded the author of "Sordello," but doubtless serves a useful end in keeping out the literary amateur and the vain woman who offers to do work for nothing if only her name may appear at the foot. It is distinctly a club for workers; and a little writing-room, well supplied with directories and books of reference, and where silence is enjoined, enables members to write reports and paragraphs without unnecessary delay, and to hand copy in at the office in time for the next day's issue. And the rest and lunch, or refreshing cup of tea count for something, too, to those who are not overstrong and who find the struggle for existence press hardly.

But the club is not only for the young beginner; it includes in its

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membership the distinguished as well as the unknown. Edna Lyall, Mme. Adam, Mrs. J. R. Green, Lady Jeune, the Duchess of Sutherland, and Mrs. Hodgson Burnett are among the vice-presidents. Mrs. Humphry Ward is a member, and has served her annual term of office as chairman of committee; while the Princess Christian is perpetual president. Once a week the Writers' doffs its aspect of serious work, and puts on gay attire in the shape of tea-cups and cakes. Every Friday afternoon there is a "house tea," to which members may invite their friends of both sexes; and there is usually some distinguished literary guest who is to be specially honored on the occasion. Members take it in turn to play the part of hostess, making themselves responsible for the refreshments and the general conduct of the reception. A Writers' Club Friday Afternoon is a function that should not be missed by visitors to London with literary tastes; for they may at least catch sight of a few lions in the crush, and get a general impression of the journalistic ladies of the British metropolis. Talk seems apt to turn on publishers; remarks on checks, royalties, second editions, interviews, and "your first success" come floating past one in the quiet corner, where after many efforts you have found a seat. And, after all, why not? "Shop" is as good a subject as shopping; and there may be some useful outcome of it. Those who know the club best maintain that it has been of real use to many of its members, in bringing them into relation with others able to help them by advice or even in more practical ways. This is good news, since women are often blamed for not holding together; and everything that tends to promote loyalty and comradeship among them must be beneficial.

It would, however, give a very wrong impression of feminine clubdom to suggest that this happy domain belongs only to the professional or philanthropic lady. Doubtless these led the way; but why should the fashionable society woman be left behind? For her the Green Park Club offers a charming resting-place, with its elegant appointments, walls hung with dainty tapestry, and furniture covered with choicest brocade. The subdued light, the artistic *ensemble*, the limitation of membership to ladies eligible for presentation at court,—all are suggestive of a world of comfort and wealth, *le monde où l'on s'amuse*. Musical and other entertainments take place here once a fortnight during the season, and are admirably organized by the proprietors, who conduct the management of the club, taking all responsibility off the members' hands, and leaving them only the comforts of this luxurious

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resort. The Alexandria Club in Grosvenor Street, which also makes the court qualification a condition of membership, is conducted on the same lines.

After these two specially select institutions there are several others which, though less ambitious and luxurious, offer very comfortable resting-places to ladies during intervals of shopping or sight-seeing, with even the convenience of a bedroom during a short stay in the metropolis. One of these is the Victoria, in Victoria Street, which distinctly states that it is "solely intended as a luxurious *pied-à-terre* for ladies requiring such in town, and has no political, educational, or other views or object." Another is the County Club, which, starting humbly as a tea and shopping club, now boasts elegant quarters in Hanover Square and a membership of a thousand; proving plainly enough by this quiet success that it met the proverbial "long-felt want." Ladies who do not desire an exclusively feminine domain may join the Albemarle, or one of the other few mixed clubs; but these are apt to be more expensive than those that cater only for the less hungry sex. In any case, the number of feminine clubs is increasing so fast that the clubless woman will soon be a rarity.

The tendency in London just now is to make life easier for women, by ladies' chambers, ladies' clubs, omnibuses whose steps a woman can climb, and restaurants which she may enter unprotected. None too soon have these things come about; and there is little doubt of their permanency. The modern woman, though she has been known to be unwilling, at a college debate, to pronounce herself better than her grandmother, need not hesitate at any rate to admit that she is a great deal more comfortable.

ALICE ZIMMERN.

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THE RESULTS OF CARDINAL SATOLLI'S MISSION.

THE request that has come to me, to prepare an article for THE FORUM on the results of Cardinal Satolli's mission, was probably prompted by the remembrance of an article of mine in THE FORUM for September, 1893,[1] to which this might be considered a sequel. The need of a delegate of the Pope for the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and the beneficent results to be expected from the mission of Monsignor Satolli, as shown in the former article, have been demonstrated and made good by the event.

Until recent years, the Catholic Church in this country was governed by what might be called, without invidiousness, a benevolent paternal despotism. While the bishop was reasonably sure of a fixity of life-tenure, everything else depended upon his will, subject only to very general laws of the Church, and with little or no regard to the body of jurisprudence and procedure known as the Canon Law. In fact, in view of the supposed missionary stage of the existence of the Church in America, it was not uncommonly thought that the Canon Law had nothing to do with us.

Too often there was neglect of duty, remissness in remedying evils; at times unnecessary burdens were laid upon the people, and harsh treatment was awarded to priests; and for all these grievances there was little or no redress. Remonstrances were readily construed into disrespect; and individuals felt that they could complain only at their peril. The only chances of redress for these evils lay in a recourse to Rome; and, in view of the distance, the difference of language, the long delays, the great expense and difficulty in producing witnesses and documents, there was, for the great majority of the aggrieved, no redress at all.

True, the Holy See, conscious of a grave defect and desiring to remedy it, ordered the establishment of judicial commissions, and dictated appropriate legislation through the Councils of Baltimore; but too many of the bishops—bred, as they were, in the old school—failed to imbibe the spirit of the new legislation, and very often disregarded

[1] "The Vatican and the United States," vol. xvi, p. 11.

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even the letter of it. In regard to one matter, reaching to the very root of ecclesiastical life, there was felt to be a great need of change. From the earlier missionary days of the Church in this country the bishops were elected by a sort of close corporation of the bishops of the province, with no reference to clergy or people; so that it sometimes happened that men unacquainted with the conditions of a diocese, and unknown or unacceptable to it, were appointed,—not infrequently to the grave detriment of religion, and disaffection of clergy and people. The Holy See endeavored to provide some remedy by requiring that there should be in each diocese a small number of the clergy who should have the right to propose three names for the bishopric. But this remedy has not proved to be very effectual; since the smallness of the number of these privileged clergymen, and the fact that they are appointees of the bishop, make them anything but fairly representative of the body of the clergy. Besides, the bishops exercise the right of revising the list presented by the priests, and of making out a list of their own. The action of the bishops is secret, and is submitted only to the Holy See, which makes the final selection. Quite frequently the choice of the privileged clergymen has been overruled, and sometimes with the unfortunate consequences already referred to.

It is a matter of Catholic dogma that the successor of St. Peter inherits from him the office of bishop of the whole flock; so that the local bishops and clergy are as truly sheep of his fold as are the laity represented by the lambs in the great commission given to Peter by our Lord. It is, therefore, but in keeping with a necessary characteristic of his high office that the Supreme Bishop should be solicitous for the welfare of every portion of the flock, eager to do whatever is best for its interests and to hasten the gathering into it of those who are still without; and that he should be grieved at the frequent miscarriage of his apostolic wishes and expectations. Of paramount importance in this matter is the wise choice of bishops. Since the Holy See, in view of the supposed missionary stage of the Church here, has not seen its way clear to broaden the electorate, as in Ireland, so as to include all the rectors of churches, the next best thing, obviously, is that the Holy Father should have, outside the bishops of the province and the limited number of privileged priests, some other regular source of accurate and unprejudiced information.

Again, the Catholic Church in the United States has a delicate and difficult mission, of a kind and a degree scarcely to be found elsewhere,—a mission the success of which cannot fail to be of the greatest

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advantage to the Republic itself. I know that nothing can be farther from the mind of the Catholic Church than the idea of national churches in antagonism to the Divine plan of unity and world-wide catholicity. Yet it is true that the Church Universal and the Holy See do, as a matter of good sense, good policy, and, I might say, of necessity, recognize subordinate units; witness the stated meetings of the bishops of all Germany in national religious conference near the tomb of their Apostle at Fulda, the regular meetings of the bishops of Ireland at Maynooth, the famous national synod of Thurles in Ireland, with its ecclesiastical legislation for the whole nation; and witness, most notable of all, our own Councils of Baltimore, which, subject to the revision of the Pope, have, by his authority, legislated for the Catholic Church in the whole of the United States.

The Holy See has gone far in its recognition of the necessity of dealing with the Church in various countries with special regard to differences of language, customs, and other conditions; and especially with regard to the points of contact with the civil government. Such points of contact are found in church building, church properties, church educational and charitable work, and the exemption of the clergy from military conscription. The Church has made treaties or concordats with one or another civil government for the regulation of such affairs throughout the whole country subject to that civil government, and has allowed the government to propose names for bishoprics.

The Catholic Church in America has not merely the mission to look after the spiritual welfare of Catholic immigrants who may come hither from Europe or elsewhere, but, in addition to this great work, she has the mission to promote the spiritual interests of those of her children who are natives of the country; and these are the great majority. Most of them, it is true, are the children or grandchildren of immigrants; but very many of them also are descendants of the early settlers of Maryland, Kentucky, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Louisiana, and other States and Territories. A greater mission than all these is incumbent upon the Catholic Church in America; and the more truly her heart and mind are quickened by the Catholic spirit, the more will she feel the exceeding sacredness and importance of it. If she be truly Catholic, she must be all aflame with the desire to bring all the people of this great American nation to the knowledge of those truths and to the receiving of those means of grace which she believes she has received from the mind and heart of Christ,—which truths and graces she believes to be for the healing of the nations, for the stability of peace

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and order, and for the solution of great social questions, which are in their last analysis moral and therefore religious questions.

Surely it is fair to say that, like the Apostle of the Gentiles, the Church must desire to be "all things to all men . . . to win all men to Christ." The Apostle felt a civic pride in asserting, "I am a Roman citizen," and in adding, "I was born so."

What a wondrous work toward the salvation of man, the assertion of human dignity, the abolition of slavery, the elevation of woman, and the eventual civilization and unification of the whole world was done by those old Apostles who Christianized the Roman Empire and the territories adjacent to it! Yet all these territories, with their populations, have dwindled, to our modern view, since, thanks to Columbus and his lesser imitators, the earth has been unveiled to us in its true proportions. There now exist several empires far surpassing the Roman Empire in extent of territory; while in population they equal it, like the Russian, or, like the Chinese and the British, far surpass it. Our own Republic also bids fair soon to outstrip it. It is already evident that America, with its rapid growth and general diffusion of education, the lofty principles which dominate its institutions and the spirit of its people, is destined to lead in the world-wide expansion of the English-speaking race,—an expansion that will carry our language, our jurisprudence, and liberty, with law and order, to all the ends of the earth. Wise men are beginning to see that the "federation of the world" and "the parliament of man," which are the poet's expression of the hopes engendered by the prophecies of Isaiah and by the promises of Christ, are to be brought about by the English-speaking peoples. Surely the language of the parliament of man shall not be any one of the direct descendants of the ancient Roman speech; nor shall it be the comparatively unmixed language of the Slav or the Teuton; but it shall be none other than this English speech of ours.

The Catholic Church, therefore, by winning the American people —the great majority of whom to-day are non-Catholics—to the high Christian life and practice, which her teachings and the graces of which she is the minister give her a unique power to do, would be making the greatest stride toward the salvation of the world. Previous Pontiffs, like Pius IX and Gregory XVI, saw something of this, and gave some expression to what they saw; but the present illustrious Pontiff, gifted with great perspicacity,—the times being now riper,—has seen it with a clearer vision, and, with a happy inspiration, has determined to do by his Apostolic authority what such conditions and such brill-

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iant promise seem to demand of him. His first great act for the accomplishment of this purpose was a creative act that is destined to be historic, because that one act created a permanent institution and with it a new order of things. That act was the establishment of a permanent Apostolic Delegation to the Church of the United States. The Pope, in appointing Monsignor Francesco Satolli to be the first Delegate, showed his high sense of the importance of the office, and the nearness of the work to his own heart. At the same time he conferred peculiar honor upon the man he chose,—the honor of being the first Delegate and, in some sense, the founder of the Delegation.

The Pope had known and had shown esteem and affection for Satolli from the days of the latter's boyhood in his native diocese of Perugia, over which the Pope had been bishop for more than thirty years. He had known him both as student and as teacher of literature, philosophy, and theology; he had promoted him to positions of honor and trust; and, when Cardinal Pecci of Perugia became Pope Leo XIII, he called Satolli to Rome to fill the position of professor of theology of St. Thomas Aquinas in the schools of the Propaganda. The Pope had commended to the whole Catholic world the philosophy and theological system of St. Thomas as a powerful remedy against the crude philosophy, the half-thinking and false thinking, that are at the bottom of the atheism, agnosticism, and infidelity of the age. It appeared as though the Pope chose Satolli for the chair of so important a school in order to introduce him from such a point of vantage as an exponent of his own mind. During his professorship Satolli published several learned volumes, was appointed president of the Ecclesiastical Academy, and consecrated Archbishop. In 1889, he was sent by the Pope to the United States, as his Representative at the Centennial celebration of the American Hierarchy in Baltimore and at the inauguration of the Catholic University in Washington. At last, in the autumn of 1892, the Holy Father sent Archbishop Satolli again to this country, as Commissioner to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and with a temporary and tentative commission as Apostolic Delegate to prepare for the announcement and establishment of a permanent Delegation.

No such birth of a new order of things can be expected to take place without pain and travail. At a meeting of the archbishops, at which Satolli announced the beneficent designs of the Pope in our behalf, the great majority declined to request or to approve the appointment of a permanent Delegate; and there was much opposi-

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tion, open and secret, at the time,—so much, indeed, that it became notorious matter of gossip in the newspapers. But the Pope, like a watchman on a high tower, taking a broader and, we may add, a more disinterested, view of the subject, was so convinced of the utility and necessity of what he had proposed that, in the beginning of 1893, he decreed the institution and appointed Satolli the first Delegate.

All experience teaches that, in nature and in human society, great things do not attain their growth and perfection suddenly or with great rapidity. Yet, from the very beginning of his administration and in the nearly four years of its duration, Monsignor Satolli has done, in numerous instances and in many directions, more than enough to justify the Pope's judgment and expectation that the Delegation would do much to remedy the evils and to supply the wants referred to in the earlier part of this article, and to cause the Catholic Church in America to make a distinct and great advance toward a future that shall be worthier of her high vocation and of the great people amid whom her lot is happily cast. Time and again he has lifted oppressive burdens from clergy and people, righted wrongs, compelled the tempering of justice with mercy, made judicial hearings accessible and easy; and, by the happy interposition of his authority and by his tact and good offices, he has been able to bring about reconciliations and compromises extrajudicially.

The mere presence in the country of such a man, invested with such authority, has prevented much matter for discord and litigation. It has made cautious some prelates who, in their inexperience, or excessive estimate of their own authority, would otherwise have been more ready to lay undue burdens upon clergy or people, and to stretch their authority beyond its due limits. He has restored priests who had been condemned by their bishops; in some cases because he found that they were innocent, and in others because he found that they had already been too severely punished. In his first address to the assembled archbishops he forcibly reminded them of the express prohibition by the Sovereign Pontiff, through the Sacred Congregation, of the exclusion (either by act or threat) from the Sacraments of parents who might choose to send their children to the public schools. And he added: "As regards the children themselves this enactment applies with still greater force." In a certain very important diocese, where the bishop had failed to give redress to a gentleman who, while making proper provision for the religious education of his boy and for the safeguarding of the boy's faith and morals, thought it proper to

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send the boy to the public school, and was therefor excluded from the church and from the Sacraments, Monsignor Satolli, when informed of these facts by a letter from the aggrieved parent, sent immediately for the pastor. Upon the latter admitting the statement of facts, he was commanded to undo forthwith the great wrong that he had done; and on the very next Sunday the vindicated layman occupied his accustomed pew in his parish church.

In the propositions which the Delegate presented to the archbishops in that same first address he made it clear that parents and civil society, as well as the Church, have rights in the matter of the education of the child. This doctrine must have seemed new and startling to some of the more narrow-minded and prejudiced of the clergy and laity; as is shown by the commotion raised by a pamphlet written in the same sense by Dr. Bouquillon, of the Catholic University, on the question of the right to teach, and entitled, "Education,—to Whom does It Belong?"

In the same propositions, while urging the maintenance (but on a proper literary as well as religious footing) of church-schools for the better teaching and guarding of religion and morality, the Delegate rebuked fanatical exaggerations. Referring to children whose religious instruction and morals are sufficiently safeguarded, he said:

"Hence, absolutely and universally speaking there is no repugnance in their learning the first elements and the higher branches of the arts and the natural sciences in public schools controlled by the state, whose office it is to provide, maintain, and protect everything by which its citizens are formed to moral goodness, while they live peaceably together, with a sufficiency of temporal goods, under laws promulgated by civil authority."

By such language and such policy the Apostolic Delegate, an Italian, showed himself more truly in touch with American views than many of our own priests and prelates, native and foreign-born; and he has thus done a vast work in dispelling prejudices against the Church, which have been so largely fostered by intemperate denunciations of the public schools. With the clear light of Roman theology and philosophy, which he brought to bear upon our affairs, he strengthened all public-spirited and patriotic American bishops, priests, and people by such language as the following, which I quote from his address at Gonzaga College, Washington, in 1893, on an American civil and religious holiday—Thanksgiving Day. Having spoken of the incompatibility of the Christian Church with the superstitions and idolatrous worship that were interwoven with the old Roman state, he says:

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"But, thanks be to God, and glory to the men who inspired the American Constitution, such a state of things as obtained in Rome is not possible here; and I will say that whoever seriously meditates on the principles of the American Constitution, or is acquainted with the present conditions of the American Republic, cannot deny that the influence and action of Catholic faith and morality are favorable in every way to the letter and spirit of the American Constitution."

I am glad to be able to quote another luminous sentence of Archbishop Satolli's, in the same sense, from a speech delivered by him on the occasion of a visit, in company with the mayor of the city, to the High School (a public school) in Waterbury, Connecticut:

"To say that the Constitution of the United States forbids the civil power to frame laws about religion, is one thing; but it is altogether different to hold that the American Constitution is godless, or that the American life requires not the influence of religion; for it is consonant with the spirit of true liberty and well-ordered government so to educate youth and so to enlighten their minds that they may not only know true religion, but also love and practise it."

What better rebuke could the Delegate have administered to those who would seem to wish, in the name of religion, to unduly depreciate American patriotism, than that conveyed in the following words, which I quote from his address in the Cathedral of New York in 1894:

"From the experience that I have gathered in America, I do believe that it is the country, of all others, in which Catholic truth may have the largest field of action. We only need freedom of speech; and that is most ample in America. But the exposition of truth must be clear and plain. I regret that sometimes the truth has been set forth incompletely. Truth possesses in itself the power to reach the intellect: it needs only to be presented clearly and entirely. It will then be accepted not only by Catholics, but also by Protestants and infidels."

And, to show that in all this he was but manifesting the mind of the Supreme Pontiff himself, it should be sufficient to repeat here the quotations which the Archbishop made from a then recent encyclical of the Pope. In an address on the relations of church and state, delivered at Washington in February, 1895, he first quotes from the beginning of the encyclical, where the Holy Father says: "We highly esteem and love exceedingly the young and vigorous American nation, in which we plainly discern latent forces for the advancement alike of civilization and of Christianity." And further on in the same address the Delegate quotes from the same encyclical as follows:

"All intelligent men are agreed, and we ourselves have with pleasure intimated it above, that America seems destined for greater things. Now, it is our wish that the Catholic Church should not only share in, but help to bring about, this prospective greatness. We deem it right and proper that she should, by

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availing herself of the opportunities daily presented to her, keep equal step with the Republic in the march of improvement; at the same time striving to the utmost, by her virtue and institutions, to aid in the rapid growth of the States."

That address of Archbishop Satolli was in great measure a synopsis or a commentary upon the encyclical of the Pope to the Church in this country. In it he asserts that the Holy Father's encyclical demonstrates "that the state has nothing to fear but everything to hope from the existence of the Catholic Church." And he adds: "She [the state] has everything to hope and nothing to fear, not only as regards her independence and constitutional liberty, but as regards the liberty of political parties as well, to none of which does the Church or the Pope desire that Catholic interests should bind themselves. The Church holds herself on a higher plane, and looks only to the common good, to the reign of truth, justice, and peace." These latter words of Archbishop Satolli may well be taken as a rebuke to those clergymen—fortunately far fewer, I think, in the Catholic Church than in any other denomination—who, in times of great political excitement, have converted their pulpits or altars into partisan political platforms.

With regard to the question, that has caused some disturbance, of the desire of Catholic immigrants of other speech than the English to maintain in their churches and church-schools for an indefinite time a foreign speech and, in some measure, a foreign nationality, Archbishop Satolli saw clearly at an early day how detrimental this must be to the general interests of the Catholic Church in America, and even to the preservation of the Catholic religion among the children and grandchildren of those immigrants; and, therefore, he not only compelled a German pastor to restore a church, of which he had been permitted by the bishop to take possession, to the use of the English-speaking people who had built it, but he also advised him to preach even in his own church in the "normal" language of the country to the bulk of his people who were familiar with that language; while not neglecting to give instruction in German, at reasonable times, to the older members who might not be sufficiently familiar with English. In the same spirit he wrote, in April, 1895, to certain French Canadians in Connecticut as follows:

"Your attachment to your religion is most consoling, and that to your native language most natural and praiseworthy. But, at the same time, you must remember that you have left the country in which the use of that language is common, and have voluntarily come to another in which a different tongue is spoken. You must not, then, expect that here the same provisions can be made

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with the same perfection for the propagation and continued use of your own language."

There has been some newspaper gossip since Cardinal Satolli's departure for Rome to the effect that in an address in a German Catholic Church in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, he spoke in a different sense from the foregoing. No doubt in that address he gave well-merited praise to the good German Catholics for their devotion to their religion and for their preservation of Catholic traditions and practices; but there is reason to believe that the Delegate felt that the translation of his address, which was published in the newspapers, was not an accurate one, and might have seemed to make that utterance of his inconsistent with his former utterances. Some complaint has been made of the suppression of that Pottsville address in the published volume of the Delegate's addresses; and this complaint has brought forth proof from the editor of the volume, Rev. J. R. Slattery, of Baltimore, that the suppression was made by Cardinal Satolli himself.

Cardinal Satolli has seen countless evidences in this country of the intense patriotism of the American people and of their ardent love for the unity of their nationality. One of the signal services that, near to the person of the Holy Father, he can now render to the Catholic Church in America will be, in making clear to the Pope and his eminent advisers in Rome that any attempt to perpetuate here quasi-colonies of nationalities of foreign speech can, in the long run, but be ruinous to the religious interests of the next and succeeding generations, who, by an inevitable attraction, will perforce be Americans and will glory in the name, and in great numbers will be likely, as they throw off and repudiate the foreign nationality, also to repudiate as something foreign the religion that has been too closely identified with it. He will be able to show to the Holy Father how this must come about, even though our Government should, with its wonderful breadth and toleration, take no note of this attempt. From his great knowledge of our country and of the spirit of our people, Cardinal Satolli will be able to make perfectly clear to the Holy Father that any intrigues engaged in by people of other nationalities, whether here, in Rome, or elsewhere, to promote such constructive treason against the unity of our nationality can have only most disastrous results, will seem to give justification to anti-Catholic associations, and may call for severe animadversion on the part of our Government itself. Above all, he will be able to point out how utterly intolerable it must be to

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the American Government, as well as to the American people, both Catholic and Protestant, that imperial ambassadors of Germany and Austria in Rome, or French Canadian politicians, or representatives of whatsoever foreign nationality, shall have any concern in, or intermeddle in any way with, the appointment of bishops in Ogdensburg, Milwaukee, or elsewhere in the United States. He will be able to tell to the Pope how fearful a blunder it was on the part of the German politician Cahensly to say to the Holy Father in his too famous memorial in favor of perpetuating, in the name of religion, these various foreign nationalities in this country, that such perpetuation would be of great advantage to the respective governments of the nations from which these people come.

Great as have been the services rendered here to the Church and to the country by Cardinal Satolli, he may render as great or even greater in his present exalted position; particularly because of the peculiar affection and esteem cherished for him by the Pope.

Although Monsignor Satolli was met at the outset of his mission with coldness and opposition in certain quarters, he soon conquered it with patience, firmness, and tact. Wherever he went Catholics and Protestants vied with one another in doing honor to the representative of the See of St. Peter, and all with great unanimity joined in paying honor to him as they bade him farewell and Godspeed.

It is a happy omen that as the first reception of Archbishop Satolli in this country was at our Columbian Exposition, so, among the last honors paid to him as he was about to leave our shores, was the extraordinary reception by one of our greatest national institutions, the Military Academy at West Point.

In welcoming the new Delegate we find fresh cause of thankfulness to the Pope, that he has chosen as Satolli's successor one with special fitness for the place. It is the duty of American Catholics, in supporting his delegate, to coöperate in the Holy Father's beneficent desires in their behalf; and to pray that he may be preserved in mental and physical vigor to carry out these designs, in spite of any narrow interests that would thwart them, and in the spirit of the declaration which he made to me three years ago, as told in THE FORUM, when he said: "Whatever may be said concerning intrigues, I, the Head of the Church, am above all such intrigues and am utterly uninfluenced by them."

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ECONOMY OF TIME IN TEACHING.

In my previous articles I pointed out that the possibilities of elementary education cannot be definitely determined until our ideas in regard to two factors are much clearer than they are at present. First, it will be necessary to learn whether everything now taught in the old-fashioned schools is in fact essential; and, second, whether the apportionment of time in the process of teaching is as economical as it might be. In my last article, which was devoted to the former question, I showed that many matters now taught in the schools answer no definite purpose, and might therefore be profitably substituted by others of more immediate value. The present article will be devoted to the latter problem; and I shall endeavor to show what might be done to eliminate waste in actual teaching and thus provide still further opportunity for the introduction of purely educative material. Of course, until an understanding is reached as to what is indispensable in an elementary-school course, and our goals are established accordingly, the study of the time element in teaching will be to some extent hampered. Nevertheless, the problem presents special features of its own that admit of separate consideration.

The point at issue involves the discovery of processes which, other things being equal, will perform a given task in the smallest amount of time. As reliable information of this nature can be obtained only by comparing results, the problem will bear solution only in so far as results can be approximately measured. Having no means at hand with which to measure general intellectual strength, we are not able definitely to determine what methods of intellectual training will accomplish most in a given period; consequently, the relative economy of measures of mental gymnastics must remain, at least for the near future, purely a matter of speculation. Positive knowledge and skill, however, being directly amenable to measurement, it lies within our reach to ascertain the time consumed by different teachers in obtaining certain positive results, as well as to discover what processes have proved the most economical. That, in spite of our extended experience with a great variety of methods, this problem is still awaiting

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solution, is due to the fact that the results of our experiments have never been so utilized as to lead to the discovery of scientific truths.

The fundamental points in the time element in teaching to which I shall direct particular attention are: the limits of incidental instruction, the influence of fatigue, and the question of mental maturity.

Of these factors that of incidental teaching is, under existing conditions, perhaps the most important. About 70 per cent of the time in some of our schools being devoted to the formal branches, a radical change would be effected if the forms of expression—reading, spelling, penmanship, grammar, and language—were taught as incidental features. Indeed, much would be gained if results should prove that the formal studies can be subordinated, even though to a limited extent only, to the content studies. The possibility of incidental instruction depends upon whether we are able to do more than one thing well at a time. If so, some mental labor must necessarily be performed by subordinate states of attention or consciousness, and the practicability of incidental instruction will depend upon whether such can be utilized in teaching. That the performance of more than one act at a time is not only possible, but under certain conditions inevitable, is clearly shown by the fact that, in writing a composition, it is necessary to attend simultaneously to at least four distinct elements—thought, language, spelling, and penmanship. To what extent incidental instruction may be carried can be discovered only by a study of results. As in some of our progressive schools the work in the formal branches has been tending for some years toward incidental instruction, opportunity is already offered for such study. In endeavoring to solve the problem by discussion, our educators are only wasting energy and losing valuable time.

The possibilities of incidental instruction are not limited to the formal studies, but extend to the content studies as well. In the latter, however, the ground covered in the different schools varies so markedly that we are unable to formulate tests which will lead to the comparative study of results. Investigation in the content studies will not be fruitful, therefore, until our goals are more definite and our notions clearer in regard to what results in these branches may be regarded as satisfactory. Moreover, as most of the time in the mechanical schools is devoted to the formal branches, incidental instruction in the content studies is a less urgent problem, at least for the present, than it is in the case of the formal ones.

When I speak of incidental instruction, I do not mean that satis-

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factory results might be secured if a branch were left to take care of itself. Incidental instruction, to be worthy the name, is not a *laisser faire* system, but must be as carefully planned and as thoroughly and systematically conducted as if the subject were separately taught. If the teacher, for instance, should act on the theory that, in time, the pupil would learn to write neatly and legibly just because he writes, and accordingly would accept manuscript in any form in which it is presented, she would not be imparting incidental instruction, but would simply be neglecting penmanship. Incidental instruction in that branch would be represented by a consistent effort on the part of the teacher to secure neatness and legibility in everything that was written. Whether it is possible to carry this point, with little or no special drill in penmanship after the forms of the letters have been learned, is purely a matter of experience.

The second point, mental fatigue, relates directly to the apportionment of time to individual branches. Experience proves that the results of teaching do not necessarily correspond to the amount of time devoted to a branch; or, in other words, that an increase in time beyond a certain point does not lead to a proportionate increase in results. In order that the labor may be fully rewarded a lesson must close at the proper point, and work in that particular subject must not be resumed until the mind is again ready for it. In this problem, therefore, a double element is involved: first, the length of a recitation; and, second, the frequency of recitations in a given subject.

Closely related to the question of fatigue is that of the powers of mental assimilation. The number of ideas that can be digested in a given period is limited, and therefore in the apportionment of time the question of assimilation must be considered as well as that of fatigue. The two are indeed so closely connected that it is impossible to say where the dividing line should be drawn.

The arrangement of a school programme on a purely logical basis may involve, therefore, an enormous waste of time, for more reasons than one. In a recitation sixty minutes in length, twice as much ground can be covered, it is true, as in a recitation only thirty minutes in length; and, again, in four recitations a week in a given subject, twice as much ground can be covered as in two. It is not, however, the number of ideas presented to the child, but only those assimilated, that count. An individual that takes twice as much food as another does not on that account weigh twice as much. Indeed, the individual that loads his digestive organs with more food than can be absorbed by the sys-

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tem, may not thrive so well as one that takes no more than he can digest, and thus saves those organs from a needless strain.

In the old-fashioned system, where the material for instruction is selected largely on the principle of filling out time, matters are poured into the mind without regard to its assimilative powers. Under this, the cramming method, facts may be remembered for a brief period, but, failing absorption, will soon fall into oblivion. By extraordinary pressure enough ideas may be crowded into the mind to enable one to pass a good examination on an appointed day; but many of them will be forgotten so quickly that the results secured in an examination unexpectedly given only a few weeks later will not be nearly so favorable.

Again, the brain-cells might reach the saturation point for one class of ideas, but would be still in perfect condition to absorb ideas of another kind; just as the amount of food of one kind that can be assimilated in a given time is no indication of how much can be assimilated if it be presented in proper variety. Thus, by carefully distributing the work, we might secure a full return in a great variety of subjects, while the same amount of time devoted to a few subjects might involve considerable waste.

That the results in a given subject are not determined by the amount of time devoted to it, is clearly indicated by the fact that in Germany, although the classes are fully as large as they are here, the children in the first few years, with only three hours' daily instruction, appear to thrive on reading, penmanship, language, arithmetic, geography, nature-study, literature, religion, music, and drawing. Moreover, what is learned in the German schools is learned thoroughly.

When viewed from this standpoint, overburdening the course does not mean teaching a large number of subjects, but introducing so many details in the subjects taught that certain brain-cells must necessarily labor beyond the point of fatigue and beyond the power of assimilation in order that the specified ground may be covered. What the length of a recitation period should be, and how much should be taught in a single lesson, can be deduced only from the results of years of teaching.

The number of recitations a week in a subject must be determined by the amount of time required for brain-cells that have been in active operation fully to recover their strength, and again be prepared for the process of assimilation. If they are set to work earlier they labor under unfavorable conditions, and less will be accomplished in a given time than if the recuperation had been complete. And it is, in fact, an

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open question whether the results of five recitations per week in a given subject will be much greater than those secured by three. This point can be determined only by comparing the results obtained under a different apportionment of time. If, in particular instances, the results of instruction are not satisfactory, it is absolutely unsafe to draw the conclusion, as our conservative citizens are apt to do, that not enough time has been devoted to the subject. Before deciding, it would be wiser to learn whether the time set aside for the purpose has been properly employed. In recent years, fatigue, as an element in education, has received considerable attention; but the observations thus far made are only of suggestive value, and will not directly aid in determining the points here discussed.

The third factor presented in our problem—mental maturity—concerns the period of school life when the various branches of study may be most profitably begun. If subjects are presented too early, the process of assimilation will be slow and imperfect; while, if reserved for the proper period, possibly as much might be accomplished in a single year as otherwise in three or four years.

The subjects at present offering the most fruitful field for research of this nature are arithmetic and technical grammar. In regard to the former, the belief is growing that the time given to it in the first two or three years is in large part wasted; or, in other words, that if children should begin arithmetic in earnest at the age of nine or ten, they would soon overtake those who began at five or six. Whether or not this is true cannot be determined without positive data. The suggestion, however, is a valuable one. To solve the question, it is necessary to compare the results secured by pupils whose early education in arithmetic has been neglected, with the results obtained by those who have passed through a systematic course from the start.

In technical grammar a still more positive stand is taken. While in a few schools this subject is begun in the fourth year, and in most schools in the fifth, it is the opinion of many educators that all the time devoted to it below the eighth year, if not below the high school, is wasted. This again can be learned only from results.

To guard against waste in apportioning the time for instruction in individual branches constitutes only one part of the problem of educational economy. The other lies in the elimination of waste in the process of teaching; for, if the time is not profitably employed, the specified results will not be obtained within the allotted period.

In teaching, both science and art are brought into play. Science

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tells us, for example, that the greatest amount of labor is performed with a given amount of energy when the channels of least resistance are employed. This condition obtains in teaching, when the ideas are introduced through channels that naturally appeal to the interests of the child. When the instruction is interesting it will attract the attention and hold it during the recitation. If, on the other hand, the child is not interested, his mind will wander and either he will not attend at all, or his attention will be incomplete; a part of the energy being wasted in overcoming the elements of distraction. As the time at the disposal of the teacher will not be fully utilized unless the mind of every child is at work, interest must be regarded as a fundamental factor in educational economy. To render instruction so interesting as to keep the mind of every child occupied will require intuition, judgment, and experience, as well as a knowledge of the theory of teaching.

A second point lies in securing a condition favorable to the assimilation of ideas. It is not enough to render instruction interesting; it is necessary as well to create a state of mental hunger—a desire for further knowledge when the recitation is over—so that the next lesson on the subject will be impatiently awaited. When the child is thus prepared for the acquisition of new ideas, and these ideas are presented at the proper moment, the process of assimilation will be most active. Therefore, although the powers of assimilation are limited, it yet lies within our reach to produce a mental attitude that will insure the greatest possible absorption of ideas. To carry this point successfully will tax the teacher's ingenuity to the utmost.

The third important factor for the elimination of waste in teaching lies in taking into account the individuality of the pupils. A teacher in charge of fifty children cannot, of course, be expected to consider all their peculiarities. Nevertheless, a great deal might be done if only this one point should receive attention, viz.: the differences in the degree of facility with which pupils grasp particular branches. Recitations properly adapted to one who readily comprehends new principles, in a given subject, cannot be followed with advantage by one who experiences great difficulty in learning them. Consequently, the teacher should avoid placing such pupils in the same group, or in some other way should exercise her ingenuity toward remedying the more glaring defects of this nature. The teacher will find an abundance of opportunity for the exercise of judgment by so instructing the class that, so far as possible, each child shall make even progress in the various branches of the grade.

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To attain this end a child who is quick in arithmetic and slow in spelling, for example, might be excused more or less frequently from the regular recitations in the former, and be permitted to devote the time to the latter. Or, again, the brightest pupils might perform a valuable service in the way of individual instruction by helping those who are slow. To some extent a plan of mutual assistance might be instituted whereby children would help their comrades in one branch, and receive assistance from them in another. Teachers who have tried some such plan as this have found that children are often more successful than they themselves in clearing away the difficulties. One who has recently passed through certain difficulties appears better to understand where they lie than one who guesses at them from reminiscences or on purely theoretical grounds.

Last,—Great waste is involved in keeping a child back because a low mark in one or two branches reduces his general average below the standard required for promotion. To compel a child to spend six months or a year in going over perfectly familiar ground in geography and arithmetic because he failed in spelling and grammar, is in truth, not wasting time, but stealing time; and it is worse than ordinary theft, because stolen time can never be replaced. Moreover, such an error of judgment in regard to promotion may rob the child of all ambition, kill his interest in intellectual work, and turn the entire current of his life.

Having pointed out the principles upon which an ideal system of education might be founded, I shall, in my future articles, discuss the data that I have collected through the practical application of these principles. As the problem is endless in its ramifications, I do not entertain the hope that my facts—which show the results of teaching in the case of a very large number of children—will be accepted as a positive solution. I shall, indeed, feel that my labor has been amply repaid if they should do no more than convince my readers that our elementary schools are conducted without regard to economy of effort, and that, so long as this condition prevails, the possibilities of elementary education will remain an unknown quantity.

J. M. Rice.

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FINANCIAL AND CURRENCY REFORM IMPERATIVE.

WHERE there is a considerable amount of wealth in the form of money, or in securities yielding income, there will usually be money in abundance, large deposits in banks, and the rates of interest will be comparatively low. That many sections of our country, where these conditions do not prevail, are suffering greatly from the want of sufficient money to conduct their business properly, is an indubitable fact. Indeed, that great injustice is being done the people in all the newer sections—where there is yet great undeveloped wealth—by not providing for them a currency system that shall insure approximately the same rate of interest everywhere upon the same conditions and upon the identical or equal security, no one who has thoroughly investigated the matter can doubt. That almost every producer in the South, West, and Northwest is compelled to sell the products of his toil without reference to his own judgment as to the advisability of the time, everyone familiar with the conditions existing in those sections fully realizes.

Herein lies the cause of the unrest and turmoil over the money question. Nor will there be any end of fiatism, silverism, or make-something-out-of-nothingism until it is justly and rightly settled from an economic point of view. So distressing are the conditions, so obvious are the wrongs felt in many sections, that the people think that nothing could be worse than their present evils; therefore, they are ready to vote for any proposition that promises relief.

To this vast population it is a matter of no consequence that they have been shown that it is mathematically certain that the free coinage of silver would make less money instead of more, from the fact that the moment free coinage is given to silver, every dollar of our gold, now amounting to about $600,000,000 and constituting one-third of all our money, would at once disappear and become a mere commodity; that, having gone to a silver basis, our $600,000,000 of silver money, now maintained on a parity with gold, would lose one-half of its purchasing power and be equal to only 300,000,000 of our present dollars; that our paper money, now amounting to about $600,000,000 and main-

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tained upon a gold basis, would then fall to a silver basis and be equal to only 300,000,000 of our present dollars,—in other words, that we should then have in this country just one-third of the purchasing power in the form of money that we have to-day.

The people are always ready to give their own condition the benefit of the doubt; a fact fully appreciated by the office-seeker and party-leader, who, in the recent campaign, hastened to inform them that if the United States should accord silver free-coinage privileges, silver would rise to a parity with gold. Many of the people did not seem to care whether this were true or not; therefore they did not ask the pertinent question, "How do you know it to be true?" Had the office-seeker examined it he must necessarily have told the people that it was not true; for the free coinage of gold and silver did not raise silver one-half of one cent from 1792 to 1834, when the ratio was 15 to 1, and all the gold left the country because of a difference of about 1 per cent; and the free coinage of gold and silver did not raise gold one-half of one cent from 1834 to 1853, when all our silver coins left us, although the disparity averaged only about 1 per cent. Further, Candidate Sewell, Governor Altgeld, and Senator Stewart, who are money-loaners, express their opinion to the contrary, by making their contracts payable in gold. Indeed, anyone who is without a prejudice in favor of silver and has carefully and exhaustively examined the question, knows that free coinage by the United States alone would have no appreciable effect upon the value of silver beyond a temporary and speculative one.

Of course, if we went to a silver basis and adopted a fifty-cent dollar, prices would rise; but values would remain the same. However, if the mere rise of prices is a good thing, without reference to a greater demand for articles, we had better drop silver also and, throwing aside all the experiences of the past, try over again Continental and Confederate currency.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, that silver would rise to a parity with gold if we adopted free coinage,—the panacea of the silverite,—the rise of prices would not follow; for it is established beyond question that any increase of equally good money does not in the least affect prices. No one will claim that if Great Britain had $36 of gold *per capita* instead of $18,—the amount she has,—that prices would double, or even change to the extent of a penny, unless gold bullion should fall; for, just across the Channel, only twenty-six miles away, in France, there is $36 *per capita* in gold, or its equivalent (since silver is there maintained at a parity with gold), and yet prices are lower

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there, speaking generally, than in England. Again, in Switzerland there is but $9 *per capita*, or one-fourth as much as there is in France, and yet prices are about the same. In Norway there is but $6 *per capita*, only one-sixth as much as there is in France, yet prices are generally about the same level; while just across the line, over in Sweden, they have about $3 *per capita*, one-twelfth as much as France, but prices are there the same. Go down into Bulgaria and you will find but $1.74 *per capita*, less than one-twentieth of that of France, and yet prices are still the same.

The history of our own country illustrates this great truth equally well. In 1800, when prices were high because of the wars and general excitement prevailing throughout Europe, we had only $4.99 *per capita* in circulation; but, beginning with 1815, concurrently with a long peace, prices began to fall and went down gradually until they reached their lowest level in 1845, although our *per capita* circulation had during this same period doubled and gone up to $10. To-day, after another long peace among the leading commercial nations of the world, prices have again reached a low level bordering on that of 1845, although our money has gone on increasing until we now have about $23 *per capita* in circulation.

To the man who is honest with himself and earnestly seeking the truth nothing further need be said to convince him that, barring exceptional and abnormal conditions, the amount of good money in circulation has nothing to do with the prices of commodities.

When driven by this multitude of overpowering facts from these two great strongholds, the silver advocate invariably gives himself up to the pitiful cry of injustice growing out of what Mr. Bryan chooses to call "the ever-appreciating dollar"; just as though gold had appreciated in value, and a gold dollar in the hand of a laboring man would now buy too much. There is only one thing—human labor—of which a gold dollar can buy too much,—unless we are to give the lie to the whole history of civilization. Every invention, every discovery, every method, every process, that tends to give greater returns to human toil, is sought for no other purpose than to cheapen the necessaries and comforts of life; and the greatest problem of humanity is to secure higher and higher wages, with cheaper and cheaper commodities; so that a day's labor shall bring to every home more and more of the necessaries and comforts of life, and secure to mankind more and more of those things which make life worth living.

I presume no one will deny that, had the prosperity, common

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throughout the land in 1892, prevailed in 1896, the presidential issue of the latter year would hardly have been under discussion at all. For a number of years, beginning about 1885, the people of the United States, like those of every other part of the civilized world, had been engaged in speculation,—opening up more land than was required, building more houses than were needed, constructing more railroads than could earn dividends, completing more electric-light and gas plants than the population of our cities or villages warranted, laying and equipping more horse and electric railways than the population in the various parts of the country justified. In addition to this vast investment in unremunerative enterprises, the Government had broken down its credit by increasing its demand obligations from $346,000,000 in 1879 to more than $1,000,000,000 in 1893; while tariff legislation was then passed which gave to toilers on the other side of the ocean a vast amount of work that ought to have been done at home. It is almost impossible to imagine a more comprehensive combination of untoward circumstances than that which centred in this country in 1893. There is scarcely a person—from those who lived upon princely incomes to the lowest paid laborer—who has not been a severe, if indeed not a serious, sufferer from the strain laid upon the entire country.

Every circumstance seemed to conspire to make the campaign of 1896 a campaign of passion growing out of discontent. Nor was the leader wanting. Misery and prejudices seemed to have furnished the late Democratic candidate with a steady and never-failing diet; for during his whole campaign he never deigned to deal with any great truths established by experience and founded upon economic principles which are now recognized and accepted by all scholars. It seemed to be quite sufficient for him to graphically paint the miseries of the people and to pledge himself to lead them into the promised land. Fortunately, however, for the good name and prosperity of our country, the intelligence and honesty of our people saved us from dishonor and disaster. But, because the danger has been momentarily passed, shall we sit idly down and ignore the frightful consequences that would certainly have followed from a different termination of the presidential contest?

Political leaders may be content to let matters drift, but the people will not; for they have rights which they will protect and wrongs for which they will find remedies. And unless these rights are safeguarded by the political party placed in power, and remedies provided for the wrongs from which the people suffer, they will hurl the success-

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ful party from power; not so much, if at all, because they have greater or any confidence in the party out of power, as because the party in power has failed to serve the purposes for which it was elected.

There are no less than four distinct causes of our trouble and distress, for each of which there must be and is a specific remedy.

First and most important of all, we have a rotten and broken-down financial system, which, if not remedied, will certainly bring this great nation, with all its wealth, to grief and bankruptcy.

Let the equivocal word *coin* be erased from our government bonds, and surplus gold from every part of the world will flow into our lap to develop our boundless resources. No man can estimate the cost to this country of the risk of that word *coin* to every investor at home and abroad. Every man who has a dollar to invest doubts us and charges his doubts to our account; and we are settling for them every month to the extent of millions.

Then let the demand obligations of this Government be retired and the paying functions of a bank be discarded, or let the Government go into the banking business in its fullest and broadest sense, accepting deposits and granting discounts, so that it can protect itself from natural resources.

The second greatest evil from which we are suffering is an ill-advised system of currency that gives us a plethora of money at certain times of the year; begetting speculation at the money centres, utterly failing to supply an adequate quantity of money at others, and constantly breeding money panics, which are the chief source of commercial failures throughout the land.

But these are not the only evils of our present methods; for a properly adjusted system of currency would lower the average rate of interest 1 to 5 per cent, according to the locality, and secure to every section approximately equal rates under similar conditions. Such a system would not only bring about a reduction and equalization of the rates of interest, but would enable the producer in every part of the country to carry his crops, or the products of his factory, until his own prudence should lead him to dispose of them.

The third greatest ill from which we are now suffering is a tariff law that utterly fails to produce adequate revenues to support the Government, and is so constructed as to transfer across the water a vast amount of work that had much better be done at home.

The fourth and last cause of the distressed condition of the United

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States springs from the speculative instinct inherent in the human race. Nearly every generation tries its hand at speculation, and invariably with the same disastrous results. We are to-day working off and wearing out the remnants left over from unprofitable investments—running into hundreds of millions—made from 1885 to 1893. Nor can this condition of things be attributed to any law or activity in any line of manufacture, but solely and alone to the gambling instinct of mankind; for it showed itself more in real-estate speculations than in anything else. Much of it was due to a wrong conception with regard to the use of the commercial capital of the country, as distinguished from its investment capital. That there is a wide distinction there can be no doubt. Commercial capital should be confined to the current business of the country and loaned out only upon short-time paper and kept constantly turning: investment capital may properly be placed upon long credit. Does the most sanguine apostle of the free-silver craze believe that free coinage would eradicate the gambling instinct of the human race, when the very adoption of free coinage would be the wildest kind of speculation?

However, the last two causes have only been referred to incidentally, and do not come properly within the range of the financial problem, which, in either of its branches,—national finance or currency reform,—far surpasses in importance the tariff or any other question now before the American people.

We have now only to inquire whether the suggestions made touching our national finances and currency are founded upon experience and are in accord with sound economic principles. So long as our standard of value is expressed in words susceptible of a double meaning,—the one carrying one hundred cents, the other but fifty,—so long will this nation and its people suffer immeasurably. And they ought to; for downright honesty would not permit a doubt to hang over our credit for an hour, while political cowardice may keep it dangling over the abyss of national dishonor until repudiation overtakes us. For this disgraceful, but apparently inestimable, privilege of some day swindling our creditors we are paying every hour. On the other hand, prosperity has followed every positive step taken by the various nations in the direction of an unequivocal gold standard.

First,—There can be but one standard. The only bimetallism there can be is where the stronger metal carries a margin of credit in the weaker, and the two circulate side by side. Any other bimetallism is a mere theoretical myth.

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Second,—The selection of gold as a measure of value is as distinctly the result of evolution, the selection of the best, "the survival of the fittest," as the preference of the ass to the ox; the horse to the ass; steam and electricity to the horse, and the wind pressing the ship's sail; the telegraph and the telephone to the sluggish mail. The operation of modern material civilization is to eliminate four things: time, space, risks, and doubts; and nothing in the monetary world serves this purpose so well as gold, of which a sufficient quantity exists to meet all the requirements of the human family. The constantly increasing supply of the metal and the increased use of checks and drafts have made it possible for every nation to obtain practically all it requires to settle the balances of trade. It wants no more; for, as gold earns no interest, any beyond that results in a loss to the holder. Even the Monetary Commission of Japan has declared in favor of a gold standard. The ambition of President Diaz is well known. All the civilized and half-civilized nations of the earth have taken the same stand. Then why do we hesitate to take an unequivocal position, especially since the American people have decreed it at the polls?

Having determined upon this one reform in our national finances, the work would only be half done, did we not discard the principle of fiatism; retiring the greenbacks and other demand obligations of the Government, as was intended to be done at the earliest moment after the close of the war. The prudence of such a step was shown by France at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, when M. Thiers insisted that the French Government should at once repay the Bank of France its loan of $300,000,000 at the rate of $40,000,000 a year, —although it bore only 1 per cent interest, while the French Government was paying 6 per cent on bonds in perpetuity.

Mr. Charles A. Conant, the author of "A History of Modern Banks of Issue," in his monthly summary of foreign banking news in the January number of the "Bankers' Magazine," makes the following quotation from the report of M. Cochery in submitting to the French Chambers the bill for the extension of the charter of the Bank of France:—

"Between the existing system, perfected and complete, and that of a bank of state, our decision ought not to be doubtful. . . . Solicited to accord the support of its [the Government's] credit to private enterprises, exposed to the permanent temptation of covering deficits in the budget by new issues of notes, the state would run the risk of transforming the bank note by degrees into paper money and *permitting to go abroad the metallic reserves which constitute one of the foundations of our credit and national power.* . . . We ought not to

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weigh for a moment a system involving such possibilities against one tested by nearly a century of prudent management and subjected to the most severe and difficult tests."

The Austro-Hungarian empire is now on the point of retiring the remaining state notes outstanding, amounting to 112,000,000 florins, or $56,000,000,—a bill for that purpose is pending before the Austrian Reichsrath and the Hungarian Reichstag,—and yet we persist in a policy that has been discarded long since because there is nothing in the experience of nations to justify it. The only claim that is made for it, even by the uninformed, is that it furnishes a cheap money for the people. But just the reverse is true.

Hon. James H. Eckels, Comptroller of the Currency, has given us the cost of the greenback, as computed by the Treasury actuary, which is as follows:—

Cost of the Gold Reserve, Including Liability for Principal of Bonds Sold and Interest Thereon to their Maturity.

Principal of bonds sold for resumption purposes:	
1877 and 1878	$95,500,000
1894	100,000,000
1895	62,315,400
1896	100,000,000
Total principal	357,815,400
Interest at 4% on the average amount of free gold in the Treasury from Jan. 1, 1879, to Jan. 1, 1895	93,440,000
	451,255,400
Interest from Jan. 1, 1895, to July 1, 1907, on $95,500,000 4% bonds of 1907	47,750,000
Interest from Jan. 1, 1895, to Feb. 1, 1904, on $100,000,000 5% bonds	45,416,666
Interest from Feb. 1, 1895, to Feb. 1, 1925, on $62,315,400 4% bonds	74,778,480
Interest from Feb. 1, 1896, to Feb. 1, 1925, on $100,000,000 4% bonds	116,000,000
Total cost, including liability, except United States notes outstanding	735,200,546
Add amount of United States notes still outstanding	346,681,016
Total cost and liability	$1,081,881,562

If the United States notes had been funded on January 1, 1879, into the 30-year 4% bonds of 1907, then being sold, the total cost to the Government therefor, including interest from January 1, 1879, to July 1, 1907, would be as follows:

Principal of bonds	$346,681,000
Interest from Jan. 1, 1879, to July 1, 1907	395,216,340
	$741,897,340
Difference in favor of converting the United States notes into bonds,	$339,984,222

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By this statement it is clearly proven that the greenback, instead of being cheap money, has been the most expensive and extravagant the people have ever had, costing us $339,984,222 more than their face in bonds.

One objection alone remains that can be made to their immediate retirement, and that is that something must be put in their place to prevent a contraction of the currency. The answer to this objection brings up at once the other important feature of the financial problem, viz.: currency reform.

The advantages claimed for an elastic currency have already been set forth. Are they justified by experience and sound economic principles? Since such a system has existed in Scotland for more than two hundred years, and now prevails throughout Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Canada with but slight variations in the principles applied,—although the limitations and methods differ somewhat in the several countries,—the lessons of experience are not wanting.

Whether a credit currency is sound in principle depends entirely upon the essential counterpart, viz.: that it can be currently redeemed in gold coin or its equivalent. Given such a credit system of currency throughout this country, the place of the greenback would be filled without a jar to commerce, and absolutely without the knowledge of the public, so far as disturbing the monetary conditions is concerned.

Should the United States Government place itself in an unequivocal position with regard to its standard of value, a well-developed system of credit currency be adopted, and our revenues so adjusted and increased as to meet the expenses of the Government, we should ride into the twentieth century upon a wave of prosperity surpassing anything the world has ever experienced.

CHARLES N. FOWLER.

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THE CURE FOR A VICIOUS MONETARY SYSTEM.

I AM asked to state what steps, in my opinion, the United States Government should take toward reforming its currency and placing its finances upon a stable basis. Let us first inquire what is the matter with our currency, and why the basis of our finances is not stable.

Our currency is made up of coin to the extent of about 2 per cent; 6 per cent is government paper; and 92 per cent is private paper. The coin consists of gold and silver in about the proportion of four to three. The government paper is made up of United States notes (greenbacks), treasury notes, gold certificates, silver certificates, and national-bank notes.

The present theory is that gold alone is real money, and that everything else which is used as money is and must be finally redeemed in that metal. The principal objection urged by the monometallists against the use of government paper is that there is too much of it out to be always redeemable on demand, and that consequently it is a standing menace to what we call the gold reserve. Bank notes are redeemable in greenbacks, and these in coin. Treasury notes, also, are payable in coin,—coin being construed to mean gold. Silver certificates are redeemable in silver dollars kept in the Treasury for that purpose. Silver dollars are not by law redeemable; but the Secretary of the Treasury has informed the country that whenever it appears to be necessary to do so, in order to maintain the parity between the two metals, he will redeem silver dollars with gold coin. So we are authorized to hold that, under the present régime, every other kind of currency now in use is redeemable in gold. The amount of all kinds of currency which thus appears to be redeemable in gold coin, as reported December 1, 1896, is:—

United States Notes	$346,681,016
Treasury Notes	121,677,280
Silver Certificates	367,903,504
Silver Dollars	58,493,845
National-Bank Notes	235,398,890
Total	$1,130,154,535

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The amount of gold in the Treasury, on the same day, was $117,557,275! It is evident that $117,557,275 of gold coin could not redeem demand obligations amounting to $1,130,154,535. Therefore, the objection on this ground is well taken.

It is proposed to obviate the difficulty by funding the government notes in United States bonds and substituting bank notes based on the bonds. This is the plan of the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury, and is approved by many business men, including bankers. That, however, would do no more than change the form of the obligations from non-interest-bearing notes to interest-bearing bonds. It would in no respect improve the quality of the currency; nor would it rescind the promise to redeem in gold.

The Fowler Bill proposes to exchange new two-per-cent gold bonds for the bonds now deposited as security for bank notes, and, in lieu of the bank notes now in use, to issue other notes redeemable by the issuing banks in gold coin. The author of the bill would cancel United States notes as fast as they are received in the Treasury; supplanting them with the bank notes. He would retire the treasury notes and silver certificates, and pay out silver coin in place of the paper so withdrawn. To procure gold to redeem the bank notes, he would require that customs duties be paid in gold coin.

The Fowler Bill is entitled, "A Bill to take the United States Government out of the banking business, refund the national debt, reform the currency, and improve our banking system." It does not appear to have been designed for a scheme of monetary reform: it is rather a plan to more firmly establish the gold standard and to further fortify the money power. It would substitute the credit of corporations for that of the Government; it would change our national-bond obligations from "coin of the standard value of July 14, 1870" to gold; it would debase silver coin, and would place the business of a mighty people at the mercy of a few speculators.

The trouble with our monetary system is that we are trying to do an impossible thing. You might as well undertake to haul a ton of hay on a bicycle as to do a hundred billion dollars' worth of business on a hundred million dollars' worth of gold coin. The only way a gold standard can be securely maintained is to use no more credit paper of any kind whatsoever than could be redeemed in gold if all were presented for payment at one time; and that, we all know, is utterly impracticable. As before stated, we have not gold enough to supply more than 1 per cent of our daily needs for money. We

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use ninety-two dollars' worth of private credit, six dollars' worth of government credit, and two dollars' worth of coin in every one hundred dollars' worth of business we transact with the national banks.

The simple truth is, we have long outgrown the metallic-money system, and we shall have to invent something better. If men want to trade in gold, let them do so: that is in every way legitimate; for gold is a commodity, and a useful one in many ways. But, as the New York Board of Trade said in a resolution, December 9, 1896, "a sound credit system is a necessary element to the stability of confidence." Money, in whatever form, is but credit coined. The wise thing for us to do is to "establish a sound credit system"; and there is no credit among us equal to that of the Government of the United States. That, wisely used, is sufficient for all monetary purposes. In addition to its simplicity and naturalness, it would be a guaranty of loyalty next only to the ownership of their homes by the people.

That the present system is defective, all agree; and its defects become more apparent as commerce spreads and trade grows more complicated. Money is a tool of trade, a necessary instrument of commerce; and it ought to be as nearly perfect as possible in its adaptability to the uses for which it is intended. Metallic coins are no better fitted for use as money in carrying on modern business than would be grain-cradles and sickles in harvesting on a Dakota wheat farm. They are altogether too clumsy and expensive. They are fit only for a slow and scattered commerce, and are wholly unsuitable where distance is virtually annihilated and carriage costs but a trifle.

We have found the metallic system to be wholly inadequate. That is to say, our stock of metallic money has never been sufficient alone to supply the demands of business.

Before the establishment of a mint we created a United States Bank to issue paper money. From the beginning until about thirty years ago, State banks were operating in all parts of the country, and their notes were used for currency. Since June 30, 1863, we have established 5,051 national banks, of which number 3,679 were in active operation on October 31, 1896; and they were circulating notes to the amount of $211,412,820. Besides these, there were then outstanding $346,681,016 of United States notes and $121,677,280 of treasury notes—a grand total of $679,771,116. And large as this amount is, after adding to it $367,903,504 of silver certificates, the whole discharges only 6 per cent of the money functions of our vast business, though it does six times as much as is done by gold. The Comptroller

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of the Currency, in his last report, referring to the growth of this substitute-money business, says: "The check, and not the note, is the symbol of banking progress; and in its extensive use is the best proof of a high plane of industrial and commercial life." That officer regards this feature of modern finance as of great importance. He says:—

"The check system is therefore a subject of interest and importance in our business world,—of so much interest and so much importance that knowledge of the extent and influence of it is necessary to a proper understanding of the machinery of exchange."

When the people are obliged to use their own personal paper in 92 per cent of their business transactions, we know there is not money enough in the country.

But there is a worse feature than this about our present money system. It is grossly unjust and unfair in its practical operation. It tends to enrich the few at the expense of the many. In December, 1861, the banks suspended specie payments; and early the next year, Congress began to provide government paper to be, or that might be, used as money. At the close of the war, the different kinds of this class of paper then out amounted to about $1,900,000,000. This did not include national-bank notes. Most of it was paid or converted into bonds by 1869, when Congress pledged the faith of the nation that all our national obligations, except such as were expressly payable in currency other than gold and silver, should be paid in coin. The next year (1870) the refunding of the national debt was authorized. The new bonds were made "redeemable in coin of the present standard value." (The act was approved July 14, 1870.) Coin at that time was the same as it is now—gold at the rate of 25.8 grains, and silver at the rate of 412.5 grains of standard metal to the dollar. Three years later (1873) our mint laws were revised; and, in enumerating the coins which should be thereafter made, the silver dollar was omitted, the unit of value being changed from the silver dollar to the gold dollar, no change being made in the weight and fineness of the coins. In the revision of the Statutes, in 1874, the silver coins of the United States were declared to be a trade dollar, a half-dollar, a quarter-dollar, and a dime; and it was provided that no other silver coins should be made, and that these should be legal tender in payments not exceeding five dollars. The practical effect of that proceeding was to depress the general level of prices and to make it harder to pay debts. Government bonds rose to a premium of 25 per cent and higher, and all securities payable in coin became more valuable; while property in general, from the proceeds

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of which debts had to be paid, declined in corresponding degree. Though the laws have since authorized a limited silver coinage, the bondholders and the speculating classes generally have successfully insisted upon gold payments; and the campaign of 1896 was fought to a triumphant issue on that demand.

The effect of all this has been to place the great body of the people at a perilous disadvantage. It has greatly depreciated the value of their property, while dollars have grown more valuable every year. In 1867, it would have required (in round numbers) 1,135,000,000 bushels of wheat to pay the nation's interest-bearing debt as it then stood; in 1873, it could have been paid with 1,487,000,000; in 1887, with 1,502,488,000; and in 1895 with 1,432,000,000,—if sold at the average price of wheat in the years quoted. Here are the figures:—

Year.	National Debt.	Price of Wheat per Bushel.
1867	$2,248,067,387	$1.985
1873	1,710,483,950	1.15
1887	1,021,692,350	0.68
1895	716,202,060	0.50

If it be said that the price of wheat has been exceptionally low during these later years, it is submitted that virtually the same result will appear, if we take the production and value of all the cereals as one. Here are the aggregate production and the total value of corn, wheat, oats, rye, barley, and buckwheat produced in the years mentioned:—

Year.	Production in Bushels.	Value.
1867	1,329,729,400	$1,284,037,300
1873	1,538,892,891	919,217,273
1887	2,660,457,000	1,204,289,370
1895	3,572,309,277	1,007,316,936

While the prices of manufactured articles have fallen, the decrease has not been so great as that in farm products; but that the general level of prices has been greatly depressed, none can deny. Mr. Sauerbeck's table of index numbers makes this perfectly clear. He took the average market price of forty-five different commodities in general use, and let the number 102 represent the average for the year

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1874, using that as an index number with which to compare the average of prices in subsequent years to 1892. The figures are:—

1874	102	1884	76
1875	96	1885	72
1876	95	1886	69
1877	94	1887	68
1878	87	1888	70
1879	83	1889	72
1880	88	1890	72
1881	85	1891	72
1882	84	1892	68
1883	82		

Dollars, debts, and taxes have grown enormously—at least 50 per cent—since the change in the unit of value in 1873. One hundred dollars will purchase 50 per cent more of the necessaries of life now than in 1873. Taking the Sauerbeck table as a basis of calculation, one hundred dollars would have purchased the following amounts in the years named:—

1874	$ 98.05	1884	131.58
1875	104.16	1885	138.88
1876	105.26	1886	144.92
1877	106.39	1887	147.05
1878	114.93	1888	142.85
1879	120.48	1889	138.88
1880	113.63	1890	138.88
1881	117.64	1891	138.88
1882	119.04	1892	147.05
1883	121.95		

These figures show that if $100 dollars would have bought $98.05 in 1874, it would have paid for $147.05 in 1892. In other words, money, measured by the average market prices of forty-five commodities, was worth 50 per cent more in 1892 than it was in 1874. Or, if it be plainer, we can illustrate by assuming that if in 1874 $100 paid for only 98 bushels of wheat, in 1892 $100 purchased 147 bushels.

And this results from the fact that the value of the thing (gold) which measures other values is fixed by law, and that the mints are open to its unlimited coinage without expense to the owner. This article (gold) is the only one among the million whose value is determined by law; all the rest find their price-level in the open market in competition with other articles. The law thus protects

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gold; while corn and cattle and everything else that men produce to sell have to contend in competitive strife for the most the market will pay. Hence, as gold coin becomes relatively scarcer, its monetary value increases; and market prices of other property necessarily diminish in a corresponding degree.

Congress has no more authority to determine the value of gold than it has to fix the value of wheat or pork. But it is empowered to regulate the value of *coin*.

A monetary system which thus breeds riches on one side and poverty on the other, that increases the value of the unit of measurement and correspondingly diminishes the value of the articles which are charged with the payment of debts and taxes,—thus taking from the great body of the people and giving to a few,—is vicious. It is evil and only evil, and that continually.

What, then, is the remedy for these defects in our finances? Can we improve by amendment or must we create anew?

I believe that the present system is fundamentally wrong. It is false in theory and ruinous in practice. It makes money more valuable than labor, which creates wealth. Interest for the use of money is 6 per cent and upward annually, while the savings of labor do not exceed 3 per cent. A single article—scarce and dear even without protection of law—is made to be the measure in all payments of money; and the value of this measure (gold) is arbitrarily fixed by law and made to apply to all the gold of earth through free mintage, while the prices of all other articles are regulated in open market. Under the operation of this oppressive law the trend inevitably is and will be downward.

The common measure of value ought to be found in a comparison of values of articles sold and bought in the market; that measure should be made the unit; and it may be represented by any device agreed upon.

The Government alone should prepare the money. It would cost but little, as the preparation of notes and bonds abundantly proves. It could be lent to the people at low rates of interest; and the profits would bring into the public treasury large and regular amounts of revenue. This kind of money would not be cornered; and panics would cease their troubling.

An entire change is necessary; but the work need not all be done at once. The process ought neither to derange business, nor occasion unnecessary or unusual losses.

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The way from the ox-cart to the railway-car is strewn with wrecks; and so it is in the wake of the world's progress. These things are inevitable. They are as natural as the falling of the leaves in autumn. In making, out of our cumbrous, cruel system of finance, one that shall be as just as scientific, the profits of the money-changers will necessarily be lessened; but these will be made good a thousand times over in the general thrift that will follow the improvement.

Let us begin right by laying a good foundation, and then rear the superstructure slowly enough to make it durable and staunch. It must be understood at the outset that the proper use of money is in the discharging of public functions. A person may not be able to exchange corn for shoes; but if he has something that represents the value of his corn, and which he may use as an order on the merchant, he has no trouble in getting the shoes. Money is what he needs for that purpose: money is the order on the merchant. And public authority alone may provide money. An officer of the law performs public functions because he is commissioned for that purpose. It is the same with coin: it is charged with monetary functions. Gold is no more money than a private citizen is an officer. Law creates both the money and the officer by conferring authority upon them to perform certain public duties.

The first thing to be done, then, is to provide for the coinage of enough gold and silver, at the standard value of July 14, 1870 (which is the present standard), to pay interest on the government bonds outstanding and to redeem the bonds at maturity. All the bonds now out are redeemable in such coin. To do this, let the mints be opened for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold by reviving the act of January 18, 1837. This coin—as much of it as shall be required—can be borrowed from the people. In the meantime it will serve as currency.

Second: Establish, with proper safeguards, a system of government banking on capital secured by real estate, bonds of the United States and of States, or by standard coin or bullion of gold and silver. Let government paper be issued only to the banks, and limit interest charges to from 4 to 6 per cent per annum on short-time paper, and to 2 per cent on long-time loans. Authorize savings depositories in connection with the banks, and secure the safety of all deposits—whether savings or business—by government guaranty against loss. In order to provide against contraction of the currency occasioned by savings deposits, let the money be immediately turned over to the bank, to be

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used as other loanable funds. And in order to provide for expanding the currency volume in emergencies when more money is temporarily needed in business, let receipts for the larger savings deposits be issued in the form of low interest-bearing notes which shall be legal tender at their face value, excluding interest.

It is not intended here to go into details. This is merely an outline. The object is to provide plenty of money that the people can get at interest rates which they can afford to pay, thus reviving business and keeping it alive; to encourage savings; to secure all depositors against loss; and to lessen the force of panics. The National Bank Act need not be repealed; but the way ought to be made easy for a change from the present to a better system of banking.

Hoarding money cannot be made unlawful: men have a right to do what they please with their own, so long as they respect the rights of others. But under a system of public banking, charges for the use of money could be fixed so low that it would not pay to let money lie idle. If men want to accumulate and save property, let them do it in kind. It may be lands, or houses, or cattle, or mines; but it ought not to be money, for that is something whose proper use is prevented by keeping it out of circulation. But hoarding would be harmless under the proposed plan, because, so long as men had good security to offer, they could get money.

W. A. PEFFER.

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POE'S OPINION OF "THE RAVEN."

THERE seems to be no end of interest in Poe legends and Poeana. He is the one American poet—Whitman, perhaps, being a second—whose work has produced a *cult;* and, at the same time, exercises a fascination which is contagious and indescribable. Some might possibly call it hypnotic. He uses what Emerson calls "polarized words"; and, while they haunt the mind, and even the very soul of the reader, they virtually create an atmosphere as distinct as that—though not like that—in one of Corot's landscapes.

Poe contributed little to human thought. He had no ethical message whatever to deliver. He could not have written Wordsworth's "Ode on the Intimations of Human Immortality"—which is as pious, though not burdensomely so, as it is poetic. What his poetry is, is not what Matthew Arnold defined poetry to be—"a criticism of life." It is more like a series of musical diversions,—fluent, sensuous, weird, sorrowful, and sepulchral, even subterranean almost in passages. But what differentiates it most specifically is, that it is sensuous. It moves no one to do anything; it, on the contrary, makes you feel something. In reading it you mourn for a vanished *Aiden* or a lost *Lenore.*

It is a curious fame that rests so much upon so little—at least, upon so small a body of work. For, if you take "The Raven," "Annabel Lee," and "The Bells" from Poe's poems—if you do not consider these at all—,what would his poetic fame have been? Could it have been very great?

But with these poems he did undoubtedly put an imprint on the literature of his day and time that is matchless. Its influence is, at any rate, a more potent force in England and France than any other poet of our nation has yet attained to. Perhaps the weird and eerie has naturally upon the human mind a more durable and clinging hold than the things that are sober and earthly. However this may be, "The Raven" alone, as a poem, seems to go on in people's minds with a constant crescendo of admiration from one year and generation to another.

We get a good deal from time to time about the way it was com-

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posed. Persons who knew Poe, and those who have heard orally from them what he said, have given us many edifying stories concerning Poe's life at the time this poem was written, and the circumstances under which it was composed.

There are but two American poems that I can think of whose *accouchement* has been talked of anywhere near so much as this poem's birth has been, if any other than these three have been talked of in this respect at all. The two I allude to are, of course, Bryant's "Thanatopsis," and Longfellow's "Excelsior."

Does anybody remember, though—but this is an "aside"—that Emerson's "Humble Bee" when it first appeared opened thus?

> "Fine Humble Bee,
> Fine Humble Bee,
> Where thou art is clime for me,"

instead of—in the vastly improved version—

> "Burly, dozing Humble Bee,
> Where thou art is clime for me."

How those two new adjectives, encyclopedic almost in their bottled essence of description, and displacing "fine," strengthened the piece! But you will find, in the very first edition of Dana's "Household Book of Poetry," that the poem is printed in the first fashion—as it stood I suppose in "The Dial," before it was revised for Emerson's first volume of verses.

But I must return to Poe and "The Raven." The brief story I have to tell about them I got orally from an author who once had some vogue, but who is now nearly completely forgotten. His name was at one time in many of our best periodicals; and the old "Democratic Review" once had a considerable critique upon his poetic position and promise. He was likened by the writer of the review article to Shelley and Keats; and there were passages of his verse given which brought out, as I remember, a considerable of the suggested resemblance. Probably, though, his poem of "The Sword of Bunker Hill"—which was set to music—best typifies his prevailing poetic style, which was, in the main, noted for being eloquent and patriotic.

William Ross Wallace (for it is he to whom I refer) was not unlike Poe in both temperament and habits. He was not a little like him in physique—in brightness of the eye, and in a superb courtliness of manner. He had the same, or a similar, irresolute will; but he was a

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delightful companion to meet if you met him at the right time. He was, I believe, a Southerner by birth, as Poe was by acclimation.

Wallace told me (in the early war times when I first met him) that he knew Poe tolerably well. They were, he said, on pleasant and familiar terms; and, it would seem (as Keats and Reynolds did), they read over to each other their not yet published poetical work. It was in obedience to this habit that Poe, on meeting Wallace one day, told him in some such words as these (I will be sponsor now only for their substance, and not for their form, or for the form of the colloquy between the known and the now unknown poet):—

"Wallace," said Poe, "I have just written the greatest poem that ever was written."

"Have you?" said Wallace. "That is a fine achievement."

"Would you like to hear it?" said Poe.

"Most certainly," said Wallace.

Thereupon Poe began to read the so to-be famous verses in his best way—which I believe was always an impressive and captivating way. When he had finished it he turned to Wallace for his approval of them—when Wallace said:

"Poe—they are fine; uncommonly fine."

"Fine?" said Poe, contemptuously. "Is that all you can say for this poem? I tell you it 's the greatest poem that was ever written."

And then they separated—not, however, before Wallace had tried to placate, with somewhat more pronounced praise, the pettish poet.

And to-day there are critics who say—not knowing Poe's own opinion of "The Raven"—that it is "the greatest poem ever written." Whether it is or not, it bids fair to be the one that will be the most and the longest talked about.

JOEL BENTON.

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THE CRIMINAL IN THE OPEN.

UP to the present time the criminal has been studied exclusively behind prison bars, after he has been caught, tried, and convicted. Out of durance he is his own master, and is naturally averse to being measured and experimented upon by scientists; hence the criminologist has been forced to await the almost certain vicissitudes which bring him once more inside a prison cell. Here he has been subjected to the most minute examinations; and there exists a bulky literature on the results which these examinations have brought to light. We have volumes, for instance, about the criminal's body, skull, and face, his whimsical and obscene writings on prison walls, the effect of various kinds of diet on his deportment, the workings of delicate instruments, placed on his wrists, to test the beat of his pulse under various conditions, the stories he has been persuaded to tell about his life, his maunderings when under the influence of hypnotism, and numerous things anthropological and psychological which have been noted down, compared, and classified.

Out of this mass of information, gathered in great part by prison doctors and other prison officials, the conclusion has been drawn that the criminal is a more or less degenerated human being. There are differences of opinion in regard to the degree of his degeneracy; but all investigators agree upon the main fact, while some go so far as to claim that he is abnormally deficient in mental and moral aptitudes, and, in a large number of instances, should be in an insane asylum rather than in a penitentiary. Human justice recoils from a severe treatment of the man who, though an outbreaking sinner, bears evidence of being sinned against as well as sinning; and yet, before we can safely fall in with this view, we must carefully consider the theory on which it is based, and its claims to a scientific foundation.

The first question with which to begin a scientific investigation of this sort is, it seems to me, this: "Where may we hope to find the criminal in his most natural state of body and mind? In confinement, a balked and disappointed man? or in the open, faring forth on his plundering errands, seeking whom and what he may devour?" That

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he should be studied when undergoing punishment goes without saying; but I claim that imprisonment should be considered rather as an incident in his existence, than its normal sphere, and that, because it has not been so regarded, we have to-day a distorted view of the criminal and an illogical tendency in penology.

It is now a full decade since I first became acquainted with tramps. My purpose in seeking them out was to learn about their life; and I soon saw that, to know it well, I must become joined to it, and be part and parcel of its various manifestations. At different times during this period,—some of them lengthening out into months,—I have lived intimately with the vagabonds of both England and the United States. In the tramp class, or so near it that the separation is almost imperceptible, are to be found any number of criminals associating freely, either for purposes of business or sociability, with their less ambitious brethren. In nearly every large city of the two countries mentioned I know something about them; and in not a few instances I have succeeded in becoming well acquainted with notorious members of their class. In this paper I desire to tell of the impression they make on one who studies them in their own habitat. There is much more to be said than can possibly be brought within the compass of one article; but I hope that I may be able to show how different is the out-door criminal from his convicted brother shut in behind prison bars.

I.

I must first note the species of criminal that I have met in the open. Lombroso and other investigators classify the cases they have studied as political, instinctive, occasional, habitual, and professional; but, so far as my finding is concerned, only one class is of any great importance—the professional. That there are also instinctive criminals, as well as occasional, I am well aware; but they form but a very small part of that outcast's world that I know best, and cannot be taken as definitely representative of it. It is the man who wilfully and knowingly makes a business of crime or is experimenting with it from commercial motives that I have found in largest numbers "on the road"; and it is he, I believe, who appears oftenest in our criminal courts. To be sure, he tries to make out that he is not a wilful offender, and often succeeds in convincing a jury that he is not; but this is due to his cleverness and trained abilities.

Contrary to a more or less popular opinion, I must also say that the criminals I am acquainted with are not such because they are unable

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to keep body and soul together in any other way. The people who go into crime for this reason are far less numerous than is generally supposed. It is true that they come, as a rule, from the poverty-stricken districts of our large cities, and that the standard of life in these districts, particularly for families, is pitifully low; but a single person can live in them far more easily than the philanthropists think. The necessaries of life, for instance, can be had by simply begging; and this is the way they are found by the majority of people who are not willing to work for them. The criminal, however, wants the luxuries of life as well; he seeks gold and the most expensive pleasures that gold can buy; and to get them he preys upon those who have it. He thinks that if all goes well he may become an aristocrat; and, having so little to lose and so much to gain, he deliberately takes his chances.

I must furthermore say that those criminals who are known to me are not, as is also popularly supposed, the scum of their environment. On the contrary, they are above their environment, and are often gifted with talents which would enable them to do well in any class, could they only be brought to realize its responsibilities and to take advantage of its opportunities. This notion that the criminal is the lowest type of his class in society arises from a false conception of that class and of the people who compose it. According to my experience, they are mainly paupers; and they have been such so long, and are so obtuse and unaccustomed to anything better, even in the United States, that they seldom make any serious effort to get out of their low condition. Indeed I think it can be said that the majority of them are practically as happy and contented in their squalor and poverty as is the aristocrat in his palace. In Whitechapel as well as in the worst parts of New York, for example, I have met entire families who could not be persuaded to exchange places with the rich, provided the exchange carried with it the duties and manners which wealth presupposes: they even pity the rich, and express wonder at their contentment "in such a strait-jacket life."

In this same class, however, there are some who are born with ambitions, and who have energy enough to try to fulfil them. These break away from class conditions; but, unfortunately, the ladder of respectable business has no foot-hold in their environment. No one of their acquaintance has gone springing up its rounds in tempting promotions; and, although the city missionary tells them that there are those who thus succeed, they will not believe him,—or rather, they prefer to believe the, to them, far more probable stories of success

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which they read in the "Police Gazette" and the "Criminal Calendar." Most of them know perfectly well that the success thus portrayed is the result of law-breaking, and that they will be punished if caught trying to achieve it; but it is a choice between the miserable slum, which they hate, and possible wealth, which they covet, and they determine to run the risk.

Not all these ambitious ones are endowed with an equal amount of energy. Some are capable only of tramp life, which, despite its many trials and vicissitudes, is more attractive than the life they seek to escape. Those with greater energy go into crime proper; and they may be called, mentally as well as physically, the aristocracy of their class. This is my analysis of the majority of the criminal men and women I have encountered in the open; and I believe it will hold good throughout their entire class.

Concerning their nationalities, I must say that most of them are indigenous to the countries in which they live. In this country it is often said that foreigners are the main offenders, and a great deal has been written about Europe dumping its criminal population on American shores; but the main offenders, in the open at least, are natives, and are generally of Irish-American parentage. In England, unmixed blood is a little more noticeable. Ireland is said to be the least criminal land in all Europe, and this may be the case so far as local crime is concerned; but more criminals trace their ancestry back to that country than to any other where English is spoken. Indeed, in America, it is considered something quite out of the ordinary if the criminal cannot attach himself somehow or other to the "Emerald Isle"; and nothing has hindered me more in my intercourse with him than the fact that my own connection with it is very slight.

In regard to the ages of the criminals I have met, it is difficult to write definitely; but the average, I think, is between twenty-five and thirty years. The sex is predominantly masculine. For every female criminal, I have found twenty males; and the proportion in the United States is even higher. It cannot, however, be inferred that the women of the same original environment are less ambitious than the men; but they take to the street, instead of to crime, to satisfy their love of high living, and they hope to find there the same prizes that their brothers are seeking by plunder. It is a mistake to say that all these women are driven to the street by the pangs of hunger. A great many are no doubt thus impelled; but I believe there are multitudes who are there merely to satisfy their ambitious and luxurious tastes.

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As the degeneration of the criminal is said by the criminologists to be physical, mental, and moral, I shall take up the subject as it pertains to the criminals I have studied, from these different points of view.

II.

It has of course been impossible for me, a fellow-traveller with tramps and but a casual observer of criminals, to conduct my investigations as scientific observers of prison specimens have done. I have not been permitted, for instance, to measure their skulls; neither have I been able to weigh them, to inspect their teeth and palates, nor even to test their pulse under excitement. It has been possible for me, however, to study their countenances, to get acquainted with their type, as it is called, and to compare it, as I have seen it in the open day, with its pictorial representation in books and pamphlets. As a rule, these pictures are very different from the type that I know. Only in a few cases have they ever approximated to the truth; and why artists have given us such, as their models, is more than I can understand. In New York, I once showed a criminal one of these caricatures and asked what he thought of it. He replied, "Why, I would n't be found dead, lookin' like that!"— a sentiment which I consider both justified and representative. The trouble is that writers about crime have usually picked out as illustrations for their books the very worst specimens possible; and the public has been led to consider these as true representatives of the entire class. A retreating forehead, for example, and the most depraved expressions of the eyes and mouth are to-day considered typical stigmata of the criminal's face. The majority of those that I am acquainted with, particularly those under thirty years of age, if well dressed, could pass muster in almost any class of society; and I doubt very much whether an uninitiated observer would be able to pick them out for what they are. After thirty years of age, and sometimes even younger, they do acquire a peculiar look; but, instead of calling it a criminal look, in the sense that the instinctive offender is criminal, I should describe it as that of a long resident in a penitentiary. Prison life, if taken in large doses and often enough, will give the most moral men in the world prison features; and it is no wonder that men who make a business of crime and are so much in prison possess them. Even men who are busied in the detection of crime have more or less similar facial characteristics. I have never met a detective who had been long in the service that did not have some features or habits common to the criminals he was en-

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gaged in hunting down; and I know several detectives who have been taken for criminals by criminals simply on account of their looks.

In regard to other abnormalities, such as absence of hair on the face, remarkable eyesight, length of certain fingers, insensibility to pain, unusual development of the lower jaw, high cheek-bones, fixed eyes, projecting ears, and stooping shoulders, which are said to differentiate the criminal from the ordinary human being, I can only report that I have not found them to be any more noticeable in the criminal class than among normal people. In the majority of cases the criminal can grow a beard, and is glad that he can do so. Without this ability to change his looks, he would be greatly handicapped in his business; and, as I know him, he usually has a beard once in two years. It has been said that his habit of tattooing is evidence of his obtuseness to pain; but it is not easy to see why. At the worst, it is not a trying ordeal; and the little suffering that it does occasion is as much felt by the criminal as by anyone else. Moreover, those that I know are not so prone to be tattooed as is reported. Indeed, it is considered a mistake to have marks on the body, for they naturally aid detection.

On all these questions of the senses, criminologists have relied altogether on what the criminal himself has told them. They give him something to taste or smell, or prick him with a needle, and his reply is noted down as scientific evidence. How do they know that he has not some object in view in telling them what he does? He may want to appear degenerated or queer, or is perhaps simply mischievous and says the first thing that comes into his head. Until instruments have been invented which can discover the truth quite independently of the criminal's personal testimony, nothing really positive can be known concerning whatever freaks of the senses may have been wrought in the criminal's organization.

The general health of the criminal is good. Up to twenty-five years of age he is as hardy and vigorous as the average person. Although he comes from the slums, he gets somehow a very fair constitution; and, if he would only take care of it, he might live to a good old age. When he nears his thirtieth year, however, his strength and vigor begin to fail him. By that time he has served a number of terms in prison; and it is this existence that drags him down. In the open, he seems able to endure a great deal and still keep his health; but behind the bars, care for him as the penologists will, he weakens and withers away. This side of his life has scarcely received the attention it deserves from investigators, who find the criminal diseased. That

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he becomes diseased must be readily admitted; but, as a rule, it is only after society has shut him up in its penal institutions. Stand, for instance, at the doors of one of these institutions, when a ten-year convict is released, and see how he looks! I once did this; and a worse wreck of a formerly strong man I have never encountered,—a being, ruined in both body and mind, a victim of passions which in the open he would have abhorred.

There is no better proof that it is the prison, and not his life and business, that makes the criminal diseased than that furnished by tramps. These men live almost entirely in the open, and, as a general rule, have a harder life than a criminal; yet they are about the healthiest people in the world. In the United States it is one of their superstitions that they simply cannot die, like other men, of disease, but have to be killed. This is what happens to a great many of them. They fall from freight trains at night, or are found starved to death, locked fast in a box-car on some distant side-track.

III.

Finding the criminal diseased and abnormal physically, it is only natural that investigators should have found him equally abnormal in mind; but this too I have not discovered.

Lack of will power, for example, is one of the first delinquencies noted in criminology; and yet out of prison and in the open the will is one of the criminal's strongest points. Most of them have enough of it, at least while they are young, to satisfy anyone; and, could they but be brought to use it in honest industry, they might become the most successful people in the world. The trouble is that they will do the things which society considers and punishes as crime. They think that they can "get on" faster in their profession than in any other; and they bend every energy to achieve their ambition. Because this ambition is so flatly contradictory to what is upright and honest, it is common, not only among criminologists, but with the general public as well, to speak of the criminal as one weak of will. I think this is one of the greatest mistakes in psychology. Napoleon I, for instance, was instrumental, directly or indirectly, in the deaths of nearly two million people, and was one of the most unscrupulously ambitious human beings that have ever lived; yet his passes for one of the strongest wills the world has known. The unimperial criminal, on the other hand, if he be unsuccessful, is catalogued by prison psychologists as a pathological specimen simply because he wills to do wrong.

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This strange classification is doubtless to be accounted for on the ground that the criminal in prison has been taken to be the natural criminal. Behind the bars he does indeed become somewhat volatile, and finds it hard to concentrate his mind; but this is due to imprisonment and its harassing trials rather than to innate deficiency. The strongest of wills would deteriorate under such conditions, and perhaps even more rapidly than that of the criminal who, by the very nature of his trade, expects and plans for a certain amount of exile.

The charge of impatience, which is so often brought against him, may be explained in the same way; and the tramps are again good illustrations. As a class they are the most patient people imaginable, and are able to endure pleasantly any amount of ruffling circumstances. Where, for example, is there a calmer and more stoical human being than the American "hobo," waiting through rain or shine at the railway watering-tank for the freight train that shall carry him farther on the road? He will stay there for days, if necessary, rather than pay the regular fare on the passenger trains; and nothing arouses his scorn more than the dilettante, or "gay cat," as he calls him, who gives up waiting and buys a regulation ticket. The criminal, after a certain age, often lacks this ability to hang on; but his nerves and general equipoise have been disturbed by imprisonment. Even the tramp is a less patient person in county jails than he is in the open; but his stay there is so short, and the confinement, compared with that in convict prisons, is so much easier to bear, that he soon recuperates. I can write from personal experience on this point; for, as an American tramp, I have had to take my share of jail life, and I have never been so nervous and impatient as when undergoing it. In the open, on the other hand, I have never been so healthy and under control. If a few days' confinement can have such an effect upon an absolutely voluntary prisoner, what must be the effect of years of this sort of life upon the man who hates prison as he does poison, and is not sure that when he is released an officer may not be waiting to read him a warrant for another arrest? Criminologists, who believe in the innate nervous weakness of the criminal, would do well to test their own nerves during even voluntary residence in prison cells in order to estimate its power to disturb a natural equilibrium.

It is also said that the criminal is more or less an epileptic. Lombroso makes a great deal of this supposition in his writings; and there are other students of the subject who go quite as far as he does. I have never met a pure epileptic criminal "on the road"; and I cannot

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recall having heard the subject discussed by tramps or criminals in any way that would lead me to believe the disorder at all common among them. Among tramps, a favorite trick is to feign epilepsy; and I have seen it done with a fidelity to "the real thing" that was remarkable. Whether or not criminals also feign in prison, I am not prepared to say; but, if they are as clever as tramps at it, I can well believe that they might deceive even the very elect among specialists.

I have also failed to find insanity common among criminals. Among those under twenty-five years of age, I have never known one clear case; and the few cases that I have known after that period have been men who have had long sentences in prison, whose confinement, I have no doubt, had much to do with their mental derangement.

There is no better evidence of the criminal's ability to reason than the fact that, the minute he is convinced that crime does not pay, he gives it up. Even at the start he is not sure that it will pay; but, as I have said, having so little to lose and so much to gain, he takes his chances. After a time, long or short according to his success, he generally comes to the conclusion that it does not pay, or at least that he lacks the wit to make it successful; and he drops it, becoming what I call a discouraged criminal. There is a difference of opinion among criminals as to how much imprisonment is necessary to convince a man that he is not getting his fair share of the prizes of his profession; but, so far as I have been able to make inquiries, I should say that between ten and fifteen years is enough to frighten the average man out of the business. Some stick to it with even twenty years spent behind the bars; but they are generally those who have been uncommonly successful in making large catches, and have risked "just one more job" in order to win "the great stake" that is to make them rich.

The main reason that the criminal is afraid to go beyond the fifteen-year limit is, that after that time, unless he be an uncommonly clever man, he is likely to get what is called "the shivers"—one of the weirdest disorders to which the human body ever yields. Men describe it differently; but, by all accounts, the victim is possessed by such a terror of capture that each member of his body is in a constant tremor. Cases have even been known where, owing to a sudden attack of this shivering palsy he has had to quit "a job" that was almost finished. If these fits once become customary the man is unqualified for any kind of work ever after, and usually ends his life in the lowest class of the outcast's world,—"the tomato-can tramp class."

It is interesting to note where criminals draw the dividing line be-

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tween success and failure. Generally speaking, they consider a man fairly successful if between imprisonments he gets a "vacation," as they call it, of eight or ten months, and is lucky enough during this period to make sufficient "hauls" to compensate him for the almost inevitable punishment that follows. The understanding, of course, in all this is that he gets the benefit, either in carousals or more practical investments, of the money he has been lucky enough to find. As a rule, however, the plunder usually goes in debauches, and very quickly too; but the criminal always hopes to recoup himself by a great stake to be put away in safety. If he be a man of average criminal wit and experience, particularly the latter, he can frequently secure the vacation of eight months for a number of years. But the more confinement he suffers the more reckless he becomes and the less able to think carefully; and there are a great many men who soon find that even six months is the most that they can count on. This time, however, is not enough, as a rule, for the "hauls" necessary to offset the expected term in prison; and the criminal is usually clever enough to get out of the business. He then bids good-by to his more tenacious brethren and joins the tramp class, where he is made welcome by others who have joined it before him. He becomes a tramp, because it is the career that comes the nearest to the one he hoped to do well in. Besides affording considerable amusement, it also permits the discouraged man to keep track of the men whom he used to know in the higher walks of outlawry; and this is an attraction not to be overlooked.

It is usual to classify the criminal according to the crimes he commits. One classification, for example, makes murderers the least intelligent; vagabonds, sexual offenders, and highwaymen a little more so; while the fraudulent class, pickpockets, and burglars are accounted the most gifted of all. I think this a fair division and one that will generally hold good; but I have found that criminals who commit crimes against property, or the fraudulent class, are far and away in the majority. Their native intelligence will compare favorably with that of the average run of people; and I have been unable to discover any mental defects until they have been a long time in prison. Nearly all of them can read and write very well indeed; and there are many who have read far more than the ordinary business man. I have met men, very low-born men too, who, while in prison, have read through more volumes of philosophy and history than even the usual college student can boast in his reading; and they have been able to converse very wisely on these subjects. These same men

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have acquired the rudiments of their studies in reformatory and industrial institutions, and have succeeded in continuing them in the libraries of penitentiaries. I know one criminal who in his prison cell informed himself about a branch of chemistry simply for purposes of business: he was thought at the time to be more or less crazy.

Prison officials are often deceived by criminals in regard to their acquirements in learning. In many prisons, diligence and progress in study earn as much promotion as general good conduct does; and as the average prisoner has every reason to desire the benefits which promotions bring with them, he tries after a fashion to progress. But what is this fashion? Very frequently this: On his arrival at the prison, instead of telling the truth to the officials who quiz him about his abilities, he says that he does not even know the alphabet, and is consequently given very light mental work. He is thus able to advance rapidly, and his teachers pride themselves on his quickness to learn and their ability to teach. Ere long he gets into a better class, and so on until he has enjoyed all the benefits which precocity can earn. There are other men who profess ignorance in order to appear simple and unknowing, and thus create the impression that they are not so guilty as they are taken to be. Many times and in many cases, the criminal is a little cleverer than the people who are examining him; and one cannot set a high value on statistics concerning his intelligence. If the student of criminology could and would eaves-drop for a while at some "hang-out" in the open, and hear the criminal's own account of the way he is investigated, he might learn "foxier" methods of dealing with him.

One other fact belongs properly to this division of my paper: The criminal is not in his own class the revolutionary creature that he seems when preying upon the classes above him. His attitude toward society in general is without doubt disrespectful and anarchistic, and it is usually immaterial to him what happens to society as such, so long as he can make "a stake"; but in his own environment he is one of the most conservative of human beings. There is no class, for instance, where old age and mature opinion receive more respect and carry more weight; and, as a general thing, the young men in it—the radical element—are expected to take a very back seat. At a "hang-out" gathering they must always show deference to the older men; and nothing is so severely judged as "freshness" on their part.

I think this is a characteristic of the criminal that might be turned to good account if he should ever be won over to respectable living: in affairs of the state, provided he had a fair share of this world's goods,

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he would be found invariably on the conservative rather than on the radical side.

IV.

I come now to the question of the criminal's moral responsibility. Can he be held definitely answerable for his evil-doing, or is he morally insane and unable to distinguish between right and wrong? The instinctive criminal must be irresponsible, and his treatment should be such as we give to insane people. As I know him, he cannot help his criminal actions; it is in him to do them; and the only merciful thing is to put him where he at least cannot continue his depredations on society, and where, if cure be possible, he may be in the hands of specialists best fitted to help him. But, as I said at the outset, he is not the sort of criminal that I have found in largest numbers in the open. It is the commercial criminal that predominates there; and, as a rule, he can be held responsible for his evil-doing.

It is often said that his lack of remorse for his crimes proves him to be morally incompetent; but this opinion is founded on insufficient knowledge of his life. He has two systems of morality: one for his business, and the other for the "hang-out." The first is this: "Society admits that the quarrel with me is over after I have served out my sentence; and I, naturally enough, take the same view of the matter. It is simply one of take and pay. I take something from society and give in exchange so many years of my life. If I come out ahead, so much the better for me; if society comes out ahead, so much the worse for me, and there is no use in whimpering over the transaction." So long as he remains in the business he thinks it only fair "to stick up for it"; and he dislikes and will not associate with men who denounce it in public.

This is his attitude toward the world at large. He puts on a bold front, and, as he himself says, "nerves" the thing through. In the bosom of his "hang-out," however,—and this is where we ought to study his ethics,—he is a very different man. His code of morals there will compare favorably with that of any class of society; and there is no other class in which fair dealing is more seriously preached, and unfair dealing more severely condemned. The average criminal will stand by a fellow-craftsman through thick and thin; and the only human being he will not tolerate is the one who turns traitor. The remorse of this traitor when brought to bay by his former brethren I have never seen exceeded anywhere. It was my fate some years ago,

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while living with tramps, to be lodged in a jail where one of the prisoners was a "state's evidence" witness. He had been released from prison on promising to tell tales on an old man,—who was supposed to be the main culprit in the crime in question,—and was lodging in the jail until the trial was over. Unfortunately for him, some of the prisoners had known him prior to this episode in his career; and they sent him to Coventry so completely that his life in the jail became unbearable and he almost died ere he could give his testimony. At night we could hear him groaning in his sleep as if he were undergoing the most fearful torture; and in the daytime he slunk around the corridors like a whipped dog. He lived to give his evidence in the trial, and was released from durance; but only a few days later he was found dead by his own hand. When the inmates of the jail heard of his fate they relented a little in their hatred of him; but the final opinion was that suicide was the best solution of the problem.

It is thought by criminologists that the good-fellowship of the criminal is due to self-preservation and the fear that each man will hang separately if all do not hang together. They maintain that his good-feeling is not genuine and spontaneous emotion, and that it is immaterial what happens to a pal so long as he himself succeeds. This is not my experience in his company. He has never had the slightest intimation that I would return favors that he did me; and in the majority of instances he has had every reason to know that it was not in my power to show him the friendliness he wanted. Yet, he has treated me with an altruism that even a Tolstoi might admire. At the "hang-out" I have been hospitably entertained on all occasions; and I have never met a criminal there who would not have given me money or seen me through a squabble, had I needed his assistance and he was able to give it. This same comradeship is noticeable in all his relations with men who are in the least connected with his life and business; and it is a notorious fact that he will "divvy" his last meal with a pal. To have to refuse the request of one of his fellows, or to do him an unkindness, is as much regretted by the criminal as it is by anyone else; and I have never known him to tell me a lie or to cheat me or to make fun of me behind my back.

There are also some things in his relations with the outside world, which, in his heart of hearts, he regrets and repents as much as he does the misdeeds in his own world. He always feels bad, for instance, when he takes money from the poor. It sometimes happens in his raids that he makes mistakes and gets into the wrong house, or has been

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deceived about the wealth of his victim; and if he discovers that he has robbed a poor man, or one who cannot conveniently bear the loss, he is ashamed and never enjoys the plunder thus won. He is too near the poor, both in birth and sentiment, not to feel remorse for such an action; and I have known him to send back money after he has discovered that the person from whom he took it needed it worse than he.

The taking of life is another deed that he regrets far more than he has been given credit for. One thinks of the criminal as the man who has no respect for life; as one who takes it without any twitchings of conscience; but this is not the general rule. The business criminal never takes a life, if he can help it; and when he does, he expects, in court, to receive the death penalty. Indeed, he believes, as a rule, that murder deserves capital punishment; and I have often heard him express wonder at the lightness of the penalties which murderers receive.

At the "hang-out," a favorite topic of discussion is, which penalty is preferable—life-imprisonment, or death. The consensus of opinion has generally run in favor of life-imprisonment, even though there be no hope of pardon; but I have never heard a whimper against the justice of the death sentence.

It is also true that the majority of criminals regret finding a man in their class who has once belonged to a better one. They are invariably sorry that he has lost caste, no matter what the circumstances have been that have brought him low, and are more likely to help him back to decent society, providing he shows repentance and willingness to do better, than they are to help themselves.

Philanthropists might learn a great deal of charity from the criminal. His idea is that it is better to keep a member of a respectable class of society from falling than it is to raise someone in a lower class to a higher one,—a philosophy which I think very sound.

There is one more regret which nearly all criminals of the class I am considering have experienced at some time in their lives, viz., that circumstances have led them into a criminal career. Their remorse may be only for a moment, and an exaggerated indifference often follows it; but while it lasts it is genuine and sincere. I have never known for any length of time a criminal who has not confessed to me something of this sort; and he has often capped it with a further confidence,—his sorrow that it was now too late to try anything else.

V.

Such, in hurried and transitory outline, is the impression the criminal has made upon me in the open day. The mistakes which criminolo-

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gists have made in regard to his case seem to me to be these: (1) They have failed to take note of the fearful effects of confinement upon his health; (2) they have allowed themselves to be deceived by him in regard to his intelligence; and (3) they have judged of his moral status simply from his "faked" attitude toward the world at large, failing to take into account his ethics among his fellows. I believe, too, that they are on the wrong track in their studies of the criminal's skull. They have examined it in all manner of ways with an ever-varying result; for each investigator comes to a different conclusion. Far better for criminology to study the criminal's *milieu;* and, until this is done thoroughly and conscientiously, he cannot be reasonably apprehended and scientifically treated.

So far as our present knowledge of his case can help us, he himself teaches what ought to be done with him. I have written of the discouraged criminal,—the man who has given up crime because he has discovered that it was not worth the pains it cost him. Punishment, as expiatory discipline, if you please, brought him to this conclusion. Here is good penology for us. If a man does wrong, wilfully and knowingly, he must be taught by discipline that society will not tolerate such conduct. The discouraged criminal is one who has been thus instructed. Now that he is a tramp, the same principle must be applied to him again: make him a discouraged vagabond. Such is the treatment which society must bring to bear on the deliberate law-breaker.

If I have studied the criminal to any purpose, it is with the resulting conviction that he is physically, mentally, and morally responsible; and that, though unhappy in his birth and environment, the very energy which has enabled him to get away from his poverty is the "promise and potency" of a better life. And human hope looks forward to a day when, in the regeneration of his class, he shall be born into better things than crime.

JOSIAH FLYNT.

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THE NEW MEMOIRS OF EDWARD GIBBON.[1]

THE publication of the "Autobiography and Letters" of Gibbon the historian in their original form is a literary event of rare interest and the solution of a fascinating mystery in the world of letters. The Earl of Sheffield, the grandson and heir of the historian's executor and friend, after presiding over the Gibbon centenary commemoration of 1894, consented to open the cases in which the manuscripts have been sealed up for a hundred years; they became the property of the British Museum; and are now published *verbatim* in three handsome and carefully annotated octavos. For the first time the world now has the *seven* autobiographic studies of the historian exactly as he wrote them, instead of the curious mosaic which the first Lord Sheffield gave to the public as Gibbon's "Memoirs." And it now has his familiar "Letters" as he wrote them, not mutilated, not bowdlerized, but in his own words and his own spelling. Of the original "Memoirs" exactly one third has not before been published. Of the "Letters" Lord Sheffield published about one hundred and ninety, nearly all of them much shortened and very severely "edited" for the worse. These volumes give more than six hundred Letters in the exact form of the autograph manuscript. The three volumes have admirable annotations, head-lines, and indices —the "Memoirs" being edited by Mr. John Murray himself, the "Letters" edited by Prof. Prothero. The work is worthy of the occasion:—and the occasion is a memorable addition to English Classics.

The new publication is certainly a literary revelation; but, like the unlocking of so many mysteries, the unsealing of the Gibbon Manuscripts has not altogether solved the mystery of the "Memoirs," or rather (as so often happens in "mysteries") it has only presented the puzzle in a new form. All readers of the "Decline and Fall"—that is to say all men and women of a sound education—have long known, as Milman and Morison told them, *that Gibbon did not write his own Autobiography*:—*i. e.* in the form in which we have it. Lord Sheffield very

[1] THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF EDWARD GIBBON. Printed from hitherto unpublished MSS. with an introduction by the Earl of Sheffield. Edited by John Murray. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

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truly told the world in 1795 that the "Memoirs" he published "had been carefully selected, and put together." But the world never did know the method of the "selection," or the astounding freedom with which they had been "put together." We did not know that quite a third of the whole had been omitted, together with some of the most brilliant pictures and many of the most piquant remarks that Gibbon ever indited.

We never suspected that the editor had cut about the manuscript of the "luminous historian" as if it were a schoolboy's theme; that sentences, descriptions, and distinct essays had been clipped from one draft and soldered into another in the middle of a paragraph; that delicious bits of satire had been expunged, so as not to awaken prejudice or to dim the solemnity of "history"; that much of the fun, nearly all the scandal, and most of the inner personal life had been eliminated from the "Letters." We now see that Gibbon's literary carcase was treated in some such way as a hog is converted into ham. But the mystery remains. If Gibbon did not compose his own Autobiography, who did? Lord Sheffield, who wrote some fair, average treatises, could hardly be credited with the wonderful literary art by which these stately blocks of Roman masonry were built up into a graceful and symmetrical edifice—just as the Arch of Titus ushers in the Sacred Way up to the Capitol itself. No one can read these seven sketches of the historian without admiring the unknown literary hand which so wonderfully wove them together and reset them into one harmonious piece.

That hand, I cannot doubt, was mainly the fair hand of a young girl. I have seen an original letter of Lady Maria Holroyd, Lord Sheffield's eldest daughter, in which she says that she and her stepmother, the second wife of Lord Sheffield, "are working busily at the Memoirs, and are excellent devils." There are passages, she says, "which it would be very unfit to publish"—"If the letters had fallen into the hands of a Boswell what fun the world would have had." I have examined the original manuscripts in the British Museum: they are marked for elision, alteration, and abbreviation in the handwriting of Lady Maria. This able and brilliant woman became on marriage the first Lady Stanley of Alderley, whose numerous descendants are so well known in English society and politics. Maria Holroyd's letters before her marriage have recently been published, and they bear out Gibbon's emphatic tribute to her audacity and genius. I have myself little doubt that the skill with which Gibbon's brilliant marble fragments were composed into a coherent picture, like the Mosaics which

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astonish and delight us at Rome, was mainly the work of this bold and remarkable woman.

A second mystery remains, now that we have the authentic and complete collection of the historian's "Letters." They have not been treated quite so freely as the "Memoirs," although hardly more than a quarter of them have been previously published, and very few of these without omissions. But now that we have the intimate records of his daily life from youth to death in their original form, one wonders anew how so gigantic a work as the "Decline and Fall" was ever completed in about sixteen years amidst all the distractions of country squires, London gaieties, Parliamentary and official duties, interminable worries about his family and property, social scandals and importunate friends. In all these six hundred letters there is not very much about his studies and his writings, but a great deal about politics, society, and pecuniary cares. We are left to imagine for ourselves when the great scholar read, how he wrote, and why he never seemed to exchange a thought with any student of his own calibre of learning. One would think he was a man of fashion, a dilettante man of the world, a wit, a *bon vivant*, and a collector of high-life gossip. All this makes the zest of his "Letters," which at times seem to recall to us the charm of a Boswell or a Horace Walpole. The world can now have all the fun, as Maria Holroyd said. But it leaves us with the puzzle even darker than before—how did Gibbon, whose whole epoch of really systematic study hardly lasted twenty-five years, acquire so stupendous a body of exact and curious learning?

Now that we have the whole of the *seven* drafts of the "Autobiography" *verbatim*, it is not very easy to decide what the historian meant to do with them or why he amused himself with so many variations on the same air. The six principal ones, which were written between 1788 and 1793, partly cover the same ground, and not seldom tell the same story in a different form and even in a different tone. As literary exercitations by one of the most consummate masters who ever used the English tongue, they are full of curious interest; and every student of style will watch with delight the varying keys and new developments of the dominant theme. It is as if we were listening to a great master of music playing to us himself variations on his own compositions, and exhibiting his art in transposing them to new modes and adapting them to various "motifs." Or again, these sketches remind us of the studies by which a great painter tries various groups and figures, before setting them together in a final composition.

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Of the 419 pages of the present volume of "Autobiographies" I count about 160 pages as not hitherto published. None of the six main sketches was printed entire by Lord Sheffield. The prudence or the delicacy of the ladies excised many characteristic family secrets, nearly all the gems of a somewhat licentious wit, the mordant satires on his grandfather and on William Law, and the beautiful picture of the loves and marriage of his own father and mother. "Memoir F.," the latest, the longest, the most complete of the drafts, fills just one quarter of the new volume. In this draft the ladies expunged no less than 37 passages, several of them containing many continuous pages. Altogether they excised about 25 pages out of 103: so that the final autobiography of the great historian, as prepared by him the year before his death, was presented to the world in a form bowdlerized to suit the fastidiousness of a young lady of quality who herself lived in the society of many of those mentioned in the memoir.

One can imagine the girl saying to her stepmother (just ennobled by the favour of George III)—"Oh! Mamma, we must not let Mr. Gibbon tell the public that his grandfather was a rank Jacobite!"—"Surely, it would be hardly delicate to recount that Mrs. Gibbon married against the wish of her Papa!"—"It makes me quite hot even to put my pencil through the very vulgar remark 'that she was pregnant at the time of his decease'!"—"And then, we cannot let Mr. Gibbon poke fun at a clergyman and say bad things about a very 'good book'; and it is positively wicked to say that the reverend gentleman 'died in the arms of his beloved Miranda'!"—"Pray Mamma, what is the meaning of his 'floating nine months in a liquid element,' and how can we 'reckon our life from the age of puberty'?—I am sure all this nasty stuff must go out!" And so the dear ladies ran on with a blue pencil in hand, treating the great historian like a dunce in the fifth form. The world "has got its fun" at last: but it is laughing rather at the cool audacity of the prudish Maria Holroyd.

There are some delicious touches of Gibbonian humour which were expunged for reasons very difficult to discern. But Maria had decided that as her father's friend must make no reflection on Church or State, so he must never descend from his lofty stage. Here are some playful turns which were committed to the silence of the Sheffield strong-room—"The Dynasties of Assyria and Egypt were my top and cricket-ball"—"a school is the cavern of fear and sorrow"—"the cloak of reason sits awkwardly on our fashionable Divines"—"falsehood is not incompatible with the sacerdotal character"—"the

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'right Divine of kings to govern wrong' is now exploded, even at Oxford"—"there was a time when I swallowed more physic than food"—"Few works of merit and importance have been executed in a garret or a palace"—Alas! the courtly Gibbon was not very fond of Dr. Johnson.

It is not merely playful epigrams in the unblushing style of the eighteenth century, but very fine character portraits which we now read for the first time. One of such is the fine sketch of Edward Gibbon the grandfather (1666–1736):—

"His portraits represent a stern and sensible countenance; his children trembled in his presence; tradition informs me that the independent visitors who might have smiled at his anger were awed by his frown; and as he was the richest, or wisest, or oldest of his neighbours, he soon became the oracle and tyrant of a petty kingdom. His own wrongs had not reconciled him to the house of Hanover; his wishes might be expressed in some harmless toasts; but he was disqualified from all public trust; and in the daily devotions of the family the name of the King for whom they prayed was prudently omitted."

Why the ladies expunged the delicious bit about the loves of his father and mother—how his "father's constancy was neither chilled by absence nor dissolved by pleasure"—"such is the beginning of a love tale at Babylon or at Putney"—"the usual consequences ensued: harsh threats and tender protestations, frowns and sighs; the seclusion of the Lady, the despair of the Lover, clandestine correspondence and stolen interviews"—and Aunt Catherine's "innocent artifices to second or screen her beloved sister"—Oh! fi! fi! we hear Lady Maria cry out with downcast eyes!

It is plain enough—but far more sad—for what reason the respectable gentlewomen at Sheffield Park expunged the cruel pictures of Aunt Hester and the Rev. William Law. "Hester persevered in a life of celibacy"—"the pious virgin abandoned for ever the house of a brother, from whom she was alienated by the interest of this world and of the next." "Of the pains and pleasures of a spiritual life *I* am ill-qualified to speak"—writes the most veracious of historians (and indeed he never wrote a truer word); "yet her lot, even on earth, has not been unhappy"—"surrounded by dependents, poor and abject as they were, who implored her bounty and imbibed her lessons."

Of course the fierce satire on the famous William Law—the author of "The Serious Call"—has to go, "—Hell-fire and eternal damnation are darted from every page of the book; and it is, indeed, somewhat whimsical that the Fanatics who most vehemently inculcate the love of God should be those who despoil him of every amiable attribute."

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Mr. Law was "a Nonjuror, a Wit, and a Saint," whose controversial tracts are buried with his antagonists, though his invective against the stage is quoted for the extravagance of its zeal. He was the tutor of Gibbon's father, whom he satirised under the name of *Flatus*—"the prophetic eye of the tutor must have discerned the butterfly in the caterpillar."—"In his last days his Religion degenerated into the visions of Jacob Behmen; but he always esteemed himself a true son of the Church of England, though he was separated from her visible communion by the unfortunate quality of a Nonjuror."—"While my poor Aunt Flavia resigned herself to the World and the Devil, her sister, Mrs. Hester Gibbon, walked in the way of salvation under the guidance of Mr. Law." In the published version all this was softened by the refined hands of the ladies into simpler and far less brilliant colours.

Besides all physiological remarks, which have a new interest now that the "Letters" exhibit the historian as a zealous student at the lectures on Anatomy of the great John Hunter, some admirable reflections were expunged from "Memoir F.," the last and most important draft. Two pages on the art of Reading and Writing, and on Arithmetic, are well worth study; and he justly points out the superior intellectual quality of good Reading. It was not true of Gibbon himself that "the sense and style of the Philosopher or poet are most awkwardly scrawled." Gibbon's own "Memoirs" are written in a very fine and clear hand. He undervalues his own calligraphy when he calls it "legible rather than fair." It is amusing to note in his manuscript that the "Philosopher" gets a capital letter, the poor "*p*oet" does not. The infant "Philosopher," at the age of eight, was sent away from home to a boarding school: his mother died when he was ten. Forty-six years afterward he writes—"As I had seldom enjoyed the smiles of maternal tenderness she was rather the object of my respect than of my love: [poor Mrs. Gibbon had six children after the historian, and died with the last!] some natural tears were soon wiped." This bit of unsentimental candour was naturally condemned by the tenderness of the Sheffield ladies. But how could they expect to convert Edward Gibbon into a Cowper or a Goldsmith?

Gibbon's reflections on his own childish reminiscences, in the light of his interest in scientific biology, have a real philosophic interest. He thinks he remembers, at the age of three, shouting out the names of his father's opponents at an election in revenge for a whipping he got: but perhaps "he may only repeat the hearsay of a riper season." It

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is now clear from the newly published "Letters" that the weakness and extravagances of the elder Gibbon imposed on the younger a life-long burden of anxiety and embarrassment; and we may now more justly estimate the extreme tenderness with which the son alluded to the failings of the parent—failings which the Sheffields sought to cover by the simple process of suppression. There is a clear-cut picture of the Rev. Philip Francis, father of "Junius," and translator of Horace; but all this Lord Sheffield dropped—perhaps in dread of another Philippic from the son. Why should he also have dropped the bitter invective against the sufferings of a delicate schoolboy—a piece to be set beside Cowper's *Tirocinium*—"they labour like the soldiers of Persia under the scourge, and their education is nearly finished before they can apprehend the sense or utility of the harsh lessons which they are forced to repeat"? Gibbon's views on schools and colleges are full of interest and suggestion: but we ought from the first to have had his words in their completeness.

His judgment on Universities has been more curtailed than that which he passes on Schools. It is amusing to note that we now have the names of the authorities of Gibbon's own College, Magdalen, which the delicacy of Lord Sheffield suppressed—as he did the prophetic sentence that "the inveterate evils which are derived from their birth and character must still cleave to our Ecclesiastical corporations." Gibbon's experience in 1752 of the fellows of Magdalen College was that "their conversation stagnated in a round of College business, Tory politics, personal stories, and private scandals." But so slow is the advance of the College "in the progressive movement of the age," or so persistent is its spirit of ill-humour, that it declines to accept from the Commemoration Committee a tablet to the memory of one of the greatest scholars who ever entered its mediæval cloister.

The thirty pages of "Memoir B.," were almost inevitably expunged by the Sheffields, inasmuch as they tell the story of Gibbon's life again down to his leaving Oxford much as it is told in "Memoirs F." and "C." But the comparison of the three versions is full of interest, especially in the story of Gibbon's conversion to the Church of Rome. It would be a study in style to compare the famous passage, in its latest form, with the same sentence in its first shape (pp: 83, 127, and 227) —"It might at least be expected that an Ecclesiastical school should inculcate the orthodox principles of Religion. But our venerable Mother had contrived to unite the opposite extremes of bigotry and indifference: a heretic or unbeliever was a monster in her eyes; but

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she was always, or often, or sometimes remiss in the spiritual education of her own children."

In "Memoir B.," we may now read, without expurgation, some amusing touches about Gibbon's first visit to Lausanne, about the Pavillards, Voltaire and "his fat and ugly niece," about the Curchods, and the ungarbled story of his love for Susanne Curchod, afterward Mme. Necker. The famous epigram—"I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son," was cut out of another Memoir in a rather different connection. But no one can now read the "Letters" without admitting that Gibbon's whole conduct in relation to Susanne Curchod was honourable, however unheroic; and that they both continued until death to cherish the intimacy of an unclouded friendship. It appears from a letter of Lady Maria's that, just before her own death, Mme. Necker was shown the passage in "Memoir B.," which truly and tenderly related the story of their early love.

It was a needless scruple, again, that expunged a very curious and interesting page (p. 173) on the Gods of Polytheism—whether they were conceived as allegorical beings, and if so, how did they become parents by mortal lovers. The twelve pages of disquisition on the Militia of England might have seemed tedious in 1795, but we may read it now with interest in 1897. Recent investigations have proved that the corps in which Gibbon served for many years, whilst permanently embodied, was as fine a regiment of soldiers as England could show at that epoch, and that the puny and portly scholar was himself a first-rate officer who thoroughly understood, and even relished his duties in the field.

Of "Memoir C.," with about eighty pages, only one fourth was printed by Lord Sheffield; and indeed it tells much the same story as "Memoir B.," in almost the same words, but with many variations. In the strangest way, but with wonderful skill, Lord Sheffield picked out pages, sentences, even phrases here and there, and inserted them in the published piece. Unfortunately he cut out some of the most piquant epigrams, some of the drollest sallies of pompous wit that Gibbon ever elaborated in his half-conscious and half-comic grandiloquence. When he goes to visit, at Porchester Castle, five thousand naked and starved French prisoners—"their distress exhibited the calamities of War: and their joyous noise the vivacity of the nation." Of course when the historian of Rome arrives at Milan and breaks forth with the truly Philistine sneer that—"the Dome or Cathedral is an unfinished monument of Gothic superstition and wealth"—the fine taste of Lady

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Maria does not suffer so gross a platitude to appear. And so too, the blue pencil goes through the second half of his epigram—that the spectacle of Venice afforded some hours of astonishment "and some days of disgust." The delicate ladies could not permit a young man to tell the world—"I tore myself from the embraces of Paris." They make him say, more politely and more tamely,—"I reluctantly left Paris." Nor could they permit him to say that his associates at Boodle's Club—"were not of the first eminence in the literary or political world." Still less could they suffer him to publish the unblushing avowal—"A matrimonial alliance has ever been the object of my terror rather than my wishes. I was not very strongly pressed by my family or my passions to propagate the name and race of the Gibbons, and if some reasonable temptations occurred in the neighbourhood, the vague idea never proceeded to the length of a serious negotiation." But why on earth could they not let the great scholar say—"By the habit of early rising I always secured a sacred portion of the day; and many precious moments were stolen and saved by my rational avarice"? Doubtless, they said that Mr. Gibbon was not avaricious, and that avarice was never rational.

"Memoir E.," with about sixty pages, is very important as it is the sole authority of the published text from his father's death in 1770 down to 1789. It is one of the earliest drafts, and is dated "Lausanne, March 2, 1791." The first thirteen pages, which recount Gibbon's life down to his thirty-fourth year, were naturally suppressed, for they simply go over the ground trodden by other drafts. The notes which are now printed *verbatim* were in most cases the bases of remarks subsequently embodied in the text. But from his establishment in London in 1773, "Memoir E.," was published entire with the exception of a few passages which were regarded as indiscreet or unpleasant. It was thought hardly consistent with truth for the obese and gouty old man to say—"the play of the animal machine still continues to be easy and regular." It was but too obvious to his friends that it was very uncertain and creaking. Reference to his attacks of gout, to tradesmen's bills, and his private affairs were eliminated. And the last twenty lines of the entire "Autobiography" as Gibbon wrote it, were cut out of the text and, in Lord Sheffield's version, were thrown into a long note.

Now here comes in a fascinating literary problem. Both the exordium and the peroration of Gibbon's "Autobiography," as published by Lord Sheffield and as hitherto known, although they are Gibbon's actual words, are in no real sense Gibbon's own composition. They have

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been re-arranged, transposed, pieced together out of several drafts by the editor, or altered so as to vary the literary effect. Both exordium and peroration are amongst the happiest passages in the famous "Autobiography," and indeed are as eloquent and impressive as any similar passages in our literature. Competent judges will agree that both exordium and peroration have gained greatly by the skill and audacity of the editor, and are distinctly superior in brilliancy and weight to Gibbon's own draft, as after seven trials he left it in his own hand. A very silly epigram on the issue of Pope's "Iliad" declared that

> "After ages shall with wonder seek,
> Who 't was translated Homer into Greek!"

The wonder of our own age is—Who was it that so greatly improved the stately eloquence of Edward Gibbon?

The "Autobiography," as printed by Lord Sheffield and as known to us, opens with a paragraph taken from "Memoir A.," the earliest of all, and of which Lord Sheffield printed only a few sentences. Even of this paragraph he printed only fourteen lines and dropped the rest. He then cuts as many lines out of the *Seventh* Sketch, but much transposes it and curtails it. Next he clips a bit from "Memoir A.," with the same treatment, adding the splendid and famous piece about Fielding and the Imperial House of Hapsburg—a real *purpureus pannus*—which he clipped from Sketch 7. Then with snippets from "A.," again, he gives us a page from "B."; and then he proceeds with "Memoir F."—"my family is originally derived from the county of Kent"—omitting, transposing, softening, and re-fitting the whole as he goes along. And so, when he comes to the peroration, he elevates a passage from the notes into the text, and degrades Gibbon's own *finale* of twenty lines from the text into a note. And yet most readers will feel that both the opening and the close of the "Autobiography" have greatly gained by the process of this amazing revision, and that the author of the "Decline and Fall" did not compose his periods with all the grace and point displayed by the unknown author of this *rifacimento*.

Of "Memoir A.," the earliest of all (1788-9), with nearly forty pages, Lord Sheffield printed barely one. It is occupied mainly with family history and heraldic lore. It was perhaps rightly judged to be hardly important enough to print at the time, but it will be read with interest by many genealogists. It is a warning to all learned persons not to meddle with learning outside their own field—*ne sutor ultra crepidam*—when we find the historian of the civilized world over a period

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of a thousand years making an odd blunder in an elementary point of Heraldry. He makes much fun about his ancestor Edmond Gibbon having changed the three scallop-shells in the family coat into three Ogresses, or "female monsters," in revenge upon three of his kinswomen with whom he had a law-suit. Now, "*Ogress*" in Heraldry (said to be a corruption of Old French *ogoesse*) is simply the same as *pellet*, and pellet is simply a *roundle sable*. The variation of a *pellet* for a *scallop-shell* is obvious enough; and the historian's ponderous humour about the savage women and his ancestor's "whimsical revenge" is pure nonsense: the melancholy blundering of a philosopher when he launches out into a study of which he had not mastered the ordinary terms.

Of "Memoir D.," with twenty-five pages, Lord Sheffield did not print a line, and it contains little that was not said elsewhere. Although it is interesting to us for purposes of collation and as a study of style, it was in no way essential for Lord Sheffield's object. The short Fragment, number Seven, contained little but the stately passages we know so well about the family of Confucius, of the Spencers, and the Fieldings. Gibbon's own Testament and a good Index complete the volume, in which the present Earl of Sheffield assures us in his "Introduction"—"*every piece contained in this volume as the work of Edward Gibbon is now printed exactly as he wrote it without suppression or emendation.*"

The casual reader, it may be, will be a little puzzled at the first glance at the book to distinguish the variety of forms which the narrative assumes in draft after draft. But to the student of English literature the gradual evolution of a splendid and classical piece cannot fail to be suggestive and fascinating. What a medley of Gibbonian antitheses and "philosophic" humour is now unveiled without "the obscurity of a learned language"!—"The frequent imposition of oaths had enlarged and fortified the Jacobite conscience":—"had not *our* alliance preceded *her* marriage, I should be less confident of my descent from the Whetnalls of Peckham":—"In the life of every man of letters . . . . the most important part of his education is that which he bestows on himself."—"it was with much reluctance and ill-humour that the envious bard [Voltaire] allowed the representation of the 'Iphigénie' of Racine."—"had I been more indigent or more wealthy I should not have possessed the leisure or the perseverance to prepare and execute my voluminous history."—"Wretched is the author, and wretched will be the work, where daily diligence is stimulated by daily hunger."

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In another article I shall deal with the "Letters" in two handsome volumes, three fourths of them being quite new, and most of them for the first time to be read in their complete form. They cannot fail to raise our estimate of the writer. We knew how genial, how good-natured, how sensible he was. But we had no adequate means of gauging his thoroughly affectionate nature, his sense of his family duties, and his placid temper under unmerited troubles. He shows himself throughout a good son to a spendthrift father who almost ruined his son's whole life, and to a somewhat exacting step-mother of a most uncongenial nature. His really passionate affection for his friends is a striking and beautiful quality, when we consider the worldly society and the unromantic age in which his life was cast. Recluses like Cowper, poets like Shelley, have filled the history of literature with some famous examples of soul-sympathy. But alas! the hates and quarrels of authors fill many more pages than their friendships and their intimacies, unless they be of a scandalous sort. But the unique charm of Gibbon's letters lies in their picture of domestic tenderness, in their freedom from any shadow of enmity toward any one, and even from a trace of literary disputes. The really beautiful intimacy between the historian and the Sheffield family is a bright spot in the annals of literature. He managed to combine the life of a Horace Walpole and a Samuel Johnson without the cynicism of the one or the fierceness of the other. All students of the latter half of the eighteenth century will find much to interest them in Gibbon's familiar touches on the social and political life of the time. And American readers in particular will eagerly follow all he has to narrate about the War of Independence. Gibbon is no profound statesman, nor a consummate painter of manners: he is neither the wit nor the "philosopher" he imagined himself to be. But in his familiar outpourings to his bosom friends, he never fails to show us in an age most artificial, unheroic, and coarse, the Ciceronian ideal of the *mitis sapientia Lœli.*

FREDERIC HARRISON.

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